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Grammatical Sketch of Turkmen

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by

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ABSTRACT

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by

Elliott Michael Hoey

The aim of this thesis is to provide a linguistically-informed profile of the Turkmen language in its contemporary form. This work incorporates and builds upon the findings of previous grammars of the language, notably Clark (1998), but goes beyond these works in addressing clause-level processes and discourse phenomena in greater detail. Included are a brief sociohistorical introduction, description of the basic structural organization of the Turkmen language, and four glossed and translated texts.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	EMPH	emphasis	PL	plural
2	second person	EQA	equative	POSS	possessive
3	third person	FUT	future	PRF	perfective
ABL	ablative	GEN	genitive	PROG	progressive
ACC	accusative	GER	gerund(ive)	PRSM	presumptive
ACT	actor	IMP	imperative	PRT	participle
ADLZ	adverbializer	INDF	indefinite	PRIV	privative
AFIL	affiliative	INF	infinitive	PST	past
AFRM	affirmative	LOC	locative	PRS	present
ASSO	associative	NEG	negative,	Q	question particle
CAUS	causative		negation	RECP	reciprocal
CMPR	comparative	NMLZ	nominalizer,	REFL	reflexive
COND	conditional		nominalization	REL	relation
COOP	cooperative	OBLG	obligative	SG	singular
CVB	converb	OPTA	optative	SBJR	subjunctor
DAT	dative	ORD	ordinal number	TRANS	transformative
DEM	demonstrative	PASS	passive	VBLZ	verbalizer
DSDR	desiderative	PERS	personal		

1 Basic information

Turkmen is a Turkic language of the Southwestern branch, East Oghuz subgroup. Its closest extant relatives include Afshari, Azeri, and Turkish; the now-extinct Khorasan Turkish is genetically the closest known relative. Among the Oghuz languages, Turkmen is rather linguistically conservative, but does show contact influence (largely lexical) from Persian, Arabic, and Russian. Dialects of northern and eastern Turkmenistan in particular show some convergence with Uzbek. The ethnonym "Turkmen" can be dated back to the late 10th c., though its etymology remains unsettled; credible suggestions include "pure Turk" and "resembling a Turk". The so-called "Iraqi Turkmens" do not speak Turkmen, but South Azeri. Similarly, though the Turkmens of Stavropol' Kray identify as ethnically Turkmen, their language is mutually unintelligible with standard Turkmen (Kurbanov 1995), and is thus a separate language on linguistic grounds.

There are approximately six million speakers of Turkmen, predominantly in the country of Turkmenistan, though significant populations also exist in Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, and Uzbekistan. The most recent census in Turkmenstan was conducted in late 2012, but as of this writing there exists only data for the 1995 census.

Geographically, Turkmenistan is dominated by the Karakum Desert, which relegates most inhabitants to the periphery, where water is accessible either from the Amu Darya and Murgap rivers or from the Caspian Sea. The major dialects of Turkmen

and their geographic distribution are presented below (Figure 1). These linguistic distinctions largely coincide with tribal affiliations.

Figure 1. Turkmen dialects in Turkmenistan

1. Yomut
2. Gökleň
3. Nohur
4. Ä:new
5. Kaka
6. Salyr
7. Saryk
8. Teke
9. Çowdur
10. Ä:rsary

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Turkmenistan's declaration of independence in 1991, the Turkmen language has been increasingly favored in public and private spheres. This is in many respects due to efforts toward Turkmenification (*Milli Galkyňyş Hereketi* 'National Revival Movement'). Turkmen has official status in Turkmenistan, with English as a second state language and Russian as a language of inter-ethnic communication. All state structures operate in Turkmen and government employees are required to demonstrate Turkmen language skills. It is the predominant language of primary and secondary education. Russian- and Turkish-medium instruction exists, but is comparatively rare and diminishing. Russian and English are sometimes used

in higher education. English and Russian are taught in primary and secondary schools, though actual proficiency in either varies widely. Bilingualism in Russian is widespread among urban Turkmens, but both urban and rural youths tend to use Turkmen in daily activities.

1.1 Alphabet

A written tradition for Turkmen began with the adoption of a variant of the Arabic script in the 18th c. These early classical works were written in a Turkmen heavily influenced by Chaghatay, and it was through this medium that many Persianisms entered the language. Later orthographic reforms made under Soviet rule implemented a Latin-based script for Turkmen, which was in use 1928-39, then following this was a Cyrillic-based script, used 1940-1991. Several reforms took place after independence in an effort to de-Russify and foreground a Turkmen identity. The current alphabet (*Tä:ze Elipbiý* 'New Alphabet'), adopted in 1993 (Clement 2008) is a Latin-based script modeled after Turkish orthographic conventions. An estimated 99% of the population of Turkmenistan is literate (World Bank 2010), though this figure is complicated by the fact that the older generation reads Cyrillic comfortably, while those educated post-independence may be more proficient with Täze Elipbiý. It should be noted that the Arabic script is still used among Turkmens in Afghanistan and Iran; their rate of literacy is not currently known.

Table 1 below compares the Latin and Cyrillic systems used, as well as their phonetic values in IPA. The order listed below is according to current conventions, and not included are symbols found primarily in Russian loans (i.e., Ёё, Цц, Щщ, Ъъ, Ьь, Ээ, Юю, Яя) nor the unorthodox symbols appearing in the Latin script from 1993-99, prior to universal implementation of Täze Elipbiý (i.e., Ññ=Ňň, $¢=Şş, ¥ÿ=Ýý, £ſ=Žž). Primary (i.e., lexical) vowel length is not represented in the current orthoragraphy, nor are the phonological processes of rounding/labial harmony, consonant assimilation, and secondary (phonologically conditioned) vowel length.

Table 1. Turkmen orthography (Latin, Cyrillic, [IPA])

Aa, Аа, [ɑ(:)]	Bb, Бб, [b]	Çç, Чч, [tʃ]	Dd, Дд, [d]	Ee, Ее, [ɛ]	Ää, Әә, [æ(:)]
Ff, Фф, [f]	Gg, Гг, [g, ɣ, ɢ]	Hh, Хх, [x]	Ii, Ии, [ɪ(:)]	Jj, Җҗ, [dʒ]	Žž, Жж, [ʒ]
Kk, Кк, [k, q]	Ll, Лл, [l, ɬ]	Mm, Мм, [m]	Nn, Нн [n]	Ňň, Ңң, [ŋ]	Oo, Оо, [o(:)]
Öö, Өө, [œ(:)]	Pp, Пп, [p]	Rr, Рр, [ɾ]	Ss, Сс, [θ]	Şş, Шш, [ʃ]	Tt, Тт, [t]
Uu, Уу, [ʊ(:)]	Üü, Үү, [ʏ(:)]	Ww, Вв, [β]	Yy, Ыы, [ɯ(:)]	Ýý, Йй, [j]	Zz, Зз, [ð]

1.2 Conventions for transcriptions and examples

The conventions used here in giving the Turkmen forms are mostly in accordance with the Täze Elipbiý orthography, the only difference being the indication of vowel length. I supplement orthographic transcriptions with phonetic and phonological transcriptions

when needed, with brackets and forward slashes, respectively. Additionally, in suffixes and particles, I follow the representational tradition in Turkology in using capital letters *A* and *I* to represent the vowel quality that would arise according to vowel harmony (§2.3.1), and *K* to represent velars /k, g/ and their allophones. Segments that appear in parentheses can indicate two things, either a regular phonological process (e.g., -(*n*)*Iň* GEN, where the *n* appears only when suffixed onto vowel-final stems), or 'free' variation in form (*bile*(*n*) 'with', where both *bile* and *bilen* appear synonymously). Additionally, where a hyphen is used in *Tä:ze Elipbiý*, I write two hyphens in order to retain the orthographic convention as well as indicate a morpheme boundary.

Illustrative examples are typically given in parentheses in the following format: (*Türkmen word or phrase* 'gloss in single quotes' [phonetic transcription when necessary] < morphological.gloss). I adhere to Leipzig glossing rules with additional abbreviations, a list of which may be found in (p. xi). Another convention used in this manuscript is reference to specific lines of the texts (§6) that exemplify a stated phenomenon in Turkmen. I employ the following abbreviations within these references: N=News, P=Poem, C=Conversation, S=Story. For example, the reference (N14) refers to the fourteenth line of the news article in texts section (§6.1).

2 Phonology

2.1 Phonological inventory

There are 16 vowels, which are divided below into eight short/long pairs (Table 2). They may also be divided according to their palatality and roundness, which are the two relevant factors for vowel harmony (§2.3.1).

Table 2. Turkmen vowels (Täze Elipbiý orthography, [IPA])

Short	a [ɑ]	e [ɛ]	ü [ʏ]	i [ɪ]	o [o]	ö [œ]	u [ʊ]	y [ɯ]
Long	a [ɑː]	ä [æː]	ü [ʏː]	i [ɪː]	o [oː]	ö [œː]	u [ʊː]	y [ɯː]

The members of each pair are articulated in roughly the same vowel space with the exception of /ɛ/ and /æː/. These two phonemes can be represented as a pair differentiated by length because, for one, /ɛ/ lengthens into [æː], not [ɛː], when followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel (*bellemek* /bɛllɛmɛk/ 'to celebrate' > *beller* /bɛllæːɾ / '3SG will celebrate'). Furthermore, [ɛː] and [æ] do not exist in the original sound system as phonemes, but result idiosyncratically: phonetic [ɛː] is the result of an unproductive contraction (appearing only in two forms: *berer* [bɛːɾ] '3SG will give' and *geler* [gɛːɾ] '3SG will come'), and phonetic [æ] is restricted to Persian loans (*şäher* [ʃæhɛɾ] 'city') and forms that are the result of historical fusion (*äkitmek* [ækɪtmɛk] 'to bring to' < *alyp gitmek* [ɑlɯp gɪtmɛk] 'to take and go').

Whereas closely related Turkish has lost original vowel length, Turkmen preserved these distinctions. Minimal pairs may be found for all pairs (with the obvious exception of

/ɛ/ and /æ:/) (*aşyk* 'dice game with sheep vertebrae', *a:şyk* 'lover'; *yzlamak* 'snivel', *y:zlamak* 'follow'). Vowel length may be characterized as primary or secondary: primary being inherent in the root morpheme, and secondary being long vowels arising from historical changes (e.g., compensatory lengthening) or synchronic processes.

There are 19 consonants in native Turkmen words (Table 3), though eight more are present in Russian, Persian, and Arabic loans (given in parentheses), depending on the degree to which a specific loan has been incorporated into Turkmen phonology and a speaker's level of bilingualism with Russian.

Table 3. Consonant inventory of Turkmen

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Interdental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
vcl stop	p			t	(c)	k	
vcd stop	b			d		g	
nasal	m			n		ŋ	
vcl fricative		(f)	θ	(s)	ʃ, (ʃ:)	(x)	h
vcd fricative		(v)	ð	(z)	(ʒ)		
vcl affricate					tʃ		
vcd affricate					dʒ		
liquid/glide	w			l			
tap				ɾ			
approximant					j		

2.2 Phonotactics

Turkmen permits syllables of the types (C1)V(C2)(C3), and the minimal content word may consist of a CVC (*bit* 'flea')[1] or VC (*at* 'horse'). Since initial consonant clusters are not permitted, those appearing in Russian loans are resolved either by metathesis or prothetic/epenthetic vowels [ɪ, ɯ, ʊ] (*kwartira* [kɯwɑrtɪrɑ] 'apartment'). Final consonant clusters of the following types are permitted: sonorant + voiceless obstruent (*ökünç* [œkʏntʃ] 'remorse'), voiceless fricative + voiceless stop (*kast* [kɑθt] 'revenge'), voiced fricative + voiceless stop (*mugt* [mʊɣt] 'free of charge'). In other words, C3 must be a voiceless obstruent (stop, affricate, or fricative). One typologically unusual feature of final clusters in Turkmen is that while voiced stop + voiceless stop is permitted phonemically (*zabt* 'invasion'), voiceless stop + voiceless stop clusters are not permitted except in borrowings (Russian *proýekt* 'project').

In native words, phonemes /d, dʒ/ are not permitted word-finally, and phones [ŋ, x, ʒ, f, v, c] are generally not permitted word-initially, though these sounds (with the exception of [ŋ]), are mostly restricted to loans. Long vowels /oː, œː, ʊː/ are confined to native Turkmen roots, and /ʊ, ʊː/ do not appear word-finally. In words of Perso-Arabic origin, /ɯː/ is confined to the final syllable, and /ʊː/ may only appear in the first two syllables of the root.

2.3 Morphophonology

[1] Words in closed classes may be CV, e.g. *tä:* 'up, until', *şu* 'this'.

2.3.1 Vowel harmony

Turkmen has palatal (backness) and labial (rounding) harmony, the values for which are given in Table 4.

Table 4. Turkmen vowel harmony values

	Front		Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
High	ɪ, ɪː	ʏ, ʏː	ɯ, ɯː	ʊ, ʊː
Low	ɛ, æː	œ, œː	ɑ, ɑː	o, oː

Vowel harmony operates on two general principles. First, the palatal value (front vs. back) of the first vowel determines the palatal value for subsequent vowels in the word. And second, the labial value (unrounded vs. rounded) determines the labial value for subsequent vowels in the word. In other words, there are high "I-vowels", which have reflexes [ɪ, ɪː, ʏ, ʏː, ɯ, ɯː, ʊ, ʊː], and low "A-vowels", which manifest as [ɛ, æː, œ, œː, ɑ, ɑː, o, oː], all of which pattern according to palatal and labial values of the initial vowel in the stem.

The appearance of long vowels /æː/ and /ɑː/ cancel labial harmony, in that neither they themselves nor any vowels following them in the word undergo labial harmony (*ölýä:rler* [œljæːrlɛr] 'they die', *[œljæːɾlœɾ]). The vowels /ɯ/ and /ɯː/ also present

exceptions with respect to labial harmony. Long /ɯː/ does not undergo rounding at all (*uzyn* [ʊðɯːn] 'long'), while short /ɯ/ does not undergo rounding word-finally (*umuːmy* [ʊmʊːmɯ] 'general', but *umuːmylyk* [ʊmʊːmʊlʊk] 'commonness'). Intervening consonants do not affect vowel harmony processes. Table 5 below exemplifies these processes.

Table 5. Vowel harmony with I and A in long and short vowels

Short vowels	-(*n*)*Iň* GENITIVE	-*dA* LOCATIVE	-*dA:kI* AFFILIATIVE
biz [bɪð] 3PL	*biziň* [bɪðɪŋ]	*bizde* [bɪðdɛ]	*bizdäːki* [bɪðdæːkɪ]
ýüz [jyð] 'face'	*ýüzüň* [jyðyŋ]	*ýüzde* [jyðdœ]	*ýüzdäːki* [jyðdæːkɪ]
merkez [mɛɾkɛð] 'center'	*merkeziň* [mɛɾkɛðɪŋ]	*merkezde* [mɛɾkɛðdɛ]	*merkezdäːki* [mɛɾkɛðdæːkɪ]
göz [gœð] 'eye'	*gözüň* [gœðyŋ]	*gözde* [gœðdœ]	*gözdäːki* [gœðdæːkɪ]
kagyz [kɑːɣɯð] 'paper'	*kagyzyň* [kɑːɣɯðɯŋ]	*kagyzda* [kɑːɣɯðdɑ]	*kagyzdaːky* [kɑːɣɯðdɑːkɯ]
dokuz [doqʊð] 'nine'	*dokuzuň* [doqʊðʊŋ]	*dokuzda* [doqʊðdo]	*dokuzdaːky* [doqʊðdɑːkɯ]
namaz [nɑmɑð] 'prayer'	*namazyň* [nɑmɑðɯŋ]	*namazda* [nɑmɑðdɑ]	*namazdaːky* [nɑmɑðdɑːkɯ]
hoz [hoð] 'walnut'	*hozyň* [hoðʊŋ]	*hozda* [hoðdo]	*hozdaːky* [hoðdɑːkɯ]

For borrowings containing mixed palatal and labial values, suffixes undergo palatal harmony according to the final vowel in the stem (*zoopark-da* [ðopɑɾkdɑ] 'at the zoo' < zoo-LOC). Only in borrowings which have phonologically assimilated to Turkmen (i.e., most Perso-Arabic borrowings) does labial harmony apply consistently in such loans. For Russian loans, which by and large have yet to phonologically assimilate, application of labial harmony in suffixes is inconsistent and largely dependent on the speaker's Russian competence.

Suffixes potentially have four forms, each reflecting palatal and labial values (*-da/de* [dɑ, do, dɛ, dœ] LOC). However, because /æː/ and /ɑː/ cancel labial harmony, those suffixes in which either of these are the initial or sole vowel of the stem have only front

and back variants (*-ra:k/rä:k* [ɾɑ:q, ɾæ:k] CMPR). A similar situation exists for short /ɯ/, which does not undergo rounding word-finally in open syllables, and long /ɯ:/, which does not obey labial harmony. Suffixes containing these as their initial or sole vowel therefore have just three variants (*-di/dy* [dɯ, dɪ, dʏ] PAST.3SG, *-i:n/y:n* [ɯ:n, ɪ:n, ʏ:n] INS).

While palatal harmony is represented orthographically, labial harmony, effectively, is not. Educated speakers understand rounding processes, but whether or not these are represented in writing depends on several spelling rules which are based on the openness of the syllable and if the syllable is the first, second, third, or later syllable of the word.

2.3.2 Segmental processes

2.3.2.1 Vowel processes

Lengthening of short vowels occurs either as the result of fusion of adjacent vowels or the addition of certain suffixes. Adjacent vowels may fuse together and create a phonetically long vowel when there is a sequence of vowel-final stem + vowel-initial suffix, which occurs regularly with numerous suffixes such as converb *-Ip* and hortative *-AlI:ň* (*so:ra-:p* [θo:ɾʊ:p] 'asking, having asked' < ask-CVB). Two adjacent vowels may also be produced and fused when a consonant is lost between two identical vowels, which occurs when the indefinite future suffix *-Ar* is added to verb roots ending in /l , r/ (*gel-er* [gɛ:ɾ] ' he will

come' < come-INDF.FUT), and in the present continuous forms *oty:r* [ɔtɯːr] 'sitting' and *ýaty:r* [jɑtɯːɾ] 'lying', which are contracted from *otyr-yr* and *ýatyr-yr*. The specific suffixes that condition lengthening of a final vowel include the case suffixes -(*:n*)*Iŋ* GEN, -(*:n*)*I* ACC, and-(*n*)*A*(*:*) DAT, as well as Russian familial suffixes -*ov/ev* M.SURNAME and -*ova/eva* F.SURNAME.

The basic formulation of vowel deletion is that high vowels /ɪ, ʏ, ʊ, ɯ/ in second syllables are dropped when 1) the first syllable of the word is open and contains a short vowel; 2) the onset of the second syllable is /b, g, m, ŋ, r, w, j/ or sometimes /n, l/; 3) the second syllable is underlyingly closed; and 4) the suffix that is added is vowel-initial (*ogl-y* 'his son' [oglɯ] < *ogul-I* < son-3.POSS). This process predominantly occurs when a suffix is added to a disyllabic word meeting the above conditions; the only trisyllabic words affected by this process are those ending with the verbal noun suffix -*Iş* (*ýazylş-y* 'his subscription' < *ýazylyş-I* < subscription-3.POSS).

Other vowel processes include the raising and shortening of vowels /ɑ, ɛ, o, œ/ into /$^{ɯ,\ ɪ,\ ɯ,\ ʏ}$/, respectively when immediately preceding the suffixes -*ýA:n* or -*ýA:r* (*epleýa:r* 'he folds' [ɛplʲjɑːɾ]). And finally, both /ɑ, ɛ/ raise and round into [o, œ] respectively when before word-final /w/ (*alaw* 'flame' [ɑlow]).

2.3.2.2 Consonant processes

There are numerous consonant assimilations. Sequences /nd, ld, ðd, θd, θt, mb/ trigger full progressive assimilation (*hozda* [hoððo] 'on the walnut'), while sequences /ðθ, tθ/ trigger full regressive assimilation (*görkezse* [gœɾkœθθœ] 'if he shows'). Alveopalatal clusters /tʃtʃ, tʃdʒ, ʃdʒ/) are consistently realized as [ʃʃ] (*geçjek* [gɛʃʃɛk] 'will pass').

Consonant voicing, which is mostly reflected in the orthography, occurs in several situations. All voiceless consonants are voiced word-finally in single-syllable words with a long vowel (*o:t* [o:d] 'fire'; cf. *ot* [ot] 'grass'). The set of phonemes /p, t, k, tʃ/ are voiced stem-finally before a vowel-initial suffix (*sadab-a* 'to the button' < button-DAT; *töwereg-i* 'the surroundings' < surroundings-3.POSS; cf. *türk-ler* [tʏɾklœr] 'Turks' < Turk-PL). With the exception of /p/, these same consonant phonemes /t, k, tʃ/ are voiced in stem-final consonant clusters /rt, ʃk, ntʃ, rtʃ/ before a vowel-initial suffix (*gezelenj-e* [gɛzɛlɛndʒɛ] 'to an excursion' < excursion-DAT); it does not appear that similar clusters (e.g., /rk, ʃt, lk/) undergo voicing in a similar way. These phonemes /t, k, tʃ/ are also voiced before the comparative suffix *-rA:k* (*giç-rä:k* [gɪdʒɾæ:k] 'later' < late-*rA:k*). The consonants stops /t, k/ are voiced when followed by any suffix beginning in /j/ or /r/ (*at-ýa:n* [ɑdjɑ:n] 'making'). Finally, alveolar stop /t/ voices before the addition of a suffix for high-frequency verb roots *et-* 'do, make' and *git-* 'go' (*ed-ip* [ɛdɪp] 'having made' < make-CVB). Note that, perhaps surprisingly, stops do not voice morpheme-internally between vowels, but only at morpheme boundaries.

Other processes include devoicing in the stop series /b, d, g/ after voiceless homorganic stops (*balyk-gulak* [bɑlɯqqʊklɑq] 'shell' < fish-ear). Of these, stops /b, g/ both spirantize intervocalically and after obstruents and taps (*ýumurtga* [jʊmʊrtɣɑ] 'egg'; *erbet* [ɛrvɛt] 'bad');[2] /g/ also spirantizes word-finally (*çyg* [tʃuɣ] 'damp') and before obstruents (*mugt* [mʊɣt] 'free of charge'). The phonemes /g, k, l/ appear as [ɢ, q, ɬ] respectively in back environments (*oka* [oqɑ] 'read!'). Affricate /tʃ/ appears as /ʃ/ before /d, s, l/ (*agaçdan* [ɑɢɑʃdɑn] 'from a tree'). In Russian loans, many speakers replace [f] with [p].

2.3.3 Syllable deletion

Two identical syllables may be reduced to one when they appear in sequence, especially as the result of suffixing *-Iň* GEN onto the syncretic 2SG.POSS *-Iň*, which would otherwise result in *-IňIň*. Whole syllables are commonly dropped in several high-frequency phrases and with the addition of the genitive case to pronouns (Table 6).

Table 6. Common words and phrases showing syllable deletion

bu: ýerde > *bä:rde* [bæːɾdɛ] 'here'	*meniň* > *meň* [mɛŋ] 'my'
bir iki > *birki* [bɪɾkɪ] 'a couple'	*meniňki* > *meňki* [mɛŋkɪ]'mine'
ondan soň > onsoň [onnoŋ] 'after that'	*seniň* > *seň* [sɛŋ] 'your'
şeýle edip > *şeýdip* [ʃɛjdɪp] 'having done so, and so'	*seniňki* > *seňki* [sɛŋkɪ] 'yours'
alyp gitmek > *äkitmek* [ækɪtmɛk] 'to take to'	*onuň* > *oň* [oŋ] 3SG.GEN
alyp gelmek > *äkelmek* [ækɛlmɛk] 'to bring to'	*onuňky* > *oňky* [oŋkɪ] 3SG.GEN.REL

[2] with the exception that /g/ does not spirantize after /k/

2.4 Stress

Turkmen lexical stress typically falls on the final syllable produced in isolation *bedew* 'steed' [bɛˈdɛw]. Secondary stress falls on the first syllable of words consisting of more than three syllables (*abadan* [ˌɑbɑˈdɑn] 'prosperous', *joralarymdan* [ˌjoɾɑlɑɾɯmˈdɑn] 'from my girlfriends'). The precise acoustic correlates of lexical and phrasal stress have yet to be instrumentally determined for Turkmen.

Exceptions to this general pattern include many 'pre-stressing' suffixes and particles which repel stress to the previous syllable. These include suffixes *-mA* NEG, *-Iň* 2SG.FORMAL/2PL.IMP, and *-sAnA* POLITE.INFORMAL.IMP (§3.2.2.3); the personal paradigm of person markers (§3.2.2.2); and many particles with discourse functions, such as *-mI* Q, *-hä:* Q.TAG, *-dA* FOC, *hem* 'also, too', *-mIş* IND.EVID, *-A:* MODERATING.PARTICLE, *-kA:* WONDER, and *-dIr* AFRM (§3.3.3). Many loans have retained their native stress patterns, notably Perso-Arabic loans *hä:zir* [ˈhæːðɪɾ] 'now' and *hemme* [ˈhɛmmɛ] 'all'.

In compounds, stress tends to fall on the last syllable of the respective components (*ata-ene* [ɑˈtɑɛˈnɛ] 'parents' < (grand)father-(grand)mother). As in other Turkic languages, Turkmen phrasal stress manifests as higher pitch on the final syllable. A reliable cue for phrasal boundaries is increased intensity on the initial syllable of a phrase (Hoey 2011), which is consonant with the fact that Central Asian Turkic languages tend to have greater prominence on the initial syllable of words (Johanson 1998: 35).

3 Morphology and word classes

Turkmen shows a typical range of distinct lexical classes that may be classified broadly into those that inflect (nominals and verbals), and those that generally do not (adverbs, postpositions, modals, particles, interjections).

3.1 Nominals

Nominals include nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and quantifiers. These are grouped together due to their shared characteristics to behave like nouns, i.e. take number, person, and case morphology or act as a syntactic argument of a verb with minimal or no derivation.

3.1.1 Nouns

Turkmen noun roots in their form are predominantly one or two syllables, while those of foreign origin may be longer. Apart from simple roots, nouns may be formed through compounding or derivation from verbs and other nouns. Morphologically, nouns may express number, person, and case, for which the template is *Root* + *Number* + *Person* +

Case. Syntactically, nouns can appear as heads of a noun phrase, and as subject, attribute, object, or predicate.

3.1.1.1 Compounds

Compounding to create nouns is a fairly productive process in Turkmen whereby two elements are juxtaposed and lexicalized to some degree. With the exception of particles, all lexical classes may provide elements for a compound, and the resulting compounds are typically nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs. These elements may be two independent morphemes (*dik-uçar* 'helicopter' < vertical-aircraft), a single independent morpheme that is partially or fully reduplicated (*nahar--pahar* 'food and stuff' < *nahar* 'food'), or two morphemes that do not exist independently outside of the compound form (*abyny-tabyny* 'the ins and outs').

The most lexicalized compounds are phonologically fused and may be unanalyzable (*gelneje* 'sister-in-law' < *gelen eje* 'mother who has come', *şaýo:ly* 'boulevard' < *şah ýo:ly* 'king's road'). Less lexicalized compounds typically show little to no phonological fusion and are usually represented orthographically with a hyphen separating the two elements (*al-yş--çal-yş* 'trade' < take- *Iş*.NMLZ-exchange-*Iş*.NMLZ). Semantically, compounds tend to express naturally associated sets (*ata-ene* 'parents' < father-mother), collectives of the combined elements (*goýun-guzy* 'sheep (plural)' <

sheep-lamb), specific types of things (*garagaç* 'elm' < *gara agaç* 'black tree'), or idiomatic meanings (*ak-an--dök-en* 'disorder' < flow-PST.PRT-pour-PST.PRT),

3.1.1.2 Derivation

Denominal nouns are derived through several suffixes, including *-dAş* for companionship (*klas-daş* 'classmate' < class-*dAş*), *-çI* for an actor or 'one who…' (ACT) (N1, N4, S2), and *-lIk* for abstractions (N7, N13). There are also a number of diminutive suffixes, most prominently *-jIk* (C50) and *-çAçIk*.

There are a variety of suffixes that create deverbal nouns, the precise semantics of which often depend on the inherent actionality of the verbs to which they attach. Deverbal nominalizing suffixes can emphasize the product or end result of a verb (*sars-gyn* 'shock' < shake-*GIn*.NMLZ), the procedure (*ek-in* 'sowing' < plant-*In.*NMLZ), or either the product or the procedure (*ä:d-im* 'a step, pace' < take.a.step-*Im*.NMLZ). Abstract nominalizations from verbs are often created using *-ç* (*utan-ç* 'shyness' < be.shy-ç.NMLZ) or *-Uw* (*biç-uw* 'fashion' < tailor-*Uw*.NMLZ). Deverbal suffixes may also express the instrument (*çyz-gyç* 'ruler' < draw-*gIç*.NMLZ), the agent (*gataş-yjy* 'participant' < participate-*IjI*.NMLZ), the place for the action (*ýala-k* 'dog bowl' < lick-*Ak*.NMLZ). The historical development of these suffixes and their current productivity require further study.

3.1.1.3 Number

Turkmen expresses singular and plural number, though some clusivity appears in multi-plural pronouns (§3.1.3.1) and in the hortative (§3.2.2.3). Turkmen displays the standard mass nouns, which do not normally take plural marking: liquids, particulates, substances, clusters, clothing, and many foods. Some hyphenated compounds that express natural sets also have inherent plurality like mass nouns (*goýun-guzy* 'sheep (plural)' < sheep-lamb).

The plural morpheme *-lAr* attaches to nominals for straightforward pluralization expressing an indefinite non-singular number, but has some idiosyntactic meanings as well. It can denote totality or comprehensiveness when, for example, attached to a name (*Garajaýew-ler* 'the Garajayev familial unit or household'), or mass noun (S6). It may also have an intensifying effect (*azar-lar* 'great pain' < pain-PL), especially when attached to reduplicated forms (*nahar--pahar-lar* 'heaps of food and stuff'), or give an approximation (*bu: wagt-lar* 'nowadays' < this time-PL).

There are a few cases where even though a referent may be semantically plural, the plural suffix does not appear. When a numeral modifies the head noun, *-lAr* is not used (*dö:rt syçan* 'four mice' < four mouse). The plural morpheme also attaches to verbals for agreement, though it is not required for 3PL subjects, and indeed is typically left off, especially for inanimate subjects.

3.1.1.4 Person

Turkmen marks person on nouns through the standard five possessive suffixes for Turkic languages, which distinguish for number only in first and second person: 1SG.POSS -(*I*)*m,* 1PL.POSS -(*I*)*mIz,* 2SG.POSS -(*I*)*ň,* 2PL.POSS -(*I*)*ňIz,* 3.POSS -(*s*)*I.* These suffixes correspond and agree with possessive pronouns (3.1.3.1), though those pronouns are not required to appear overtly. The paradigm's lack of distinction for number in the third person may lead to an ambiguity where a word like *öý-ler-i* (< house-PL-3.POSS) may mean 'their house', 'their houses' or 'his/her houses'.

Possessive suffixes are also involved in existential constructions. They may attach to a noun and be accompanied by *ba:r* for presence (N11, N12, C50) or *ýo:k* for absence (S12) in present tense. Future and past existence is expressed through inflected forms of *bolmak* 'to be'. Past existence may also be expressed with *ba:r/ýo:k* plus the past tense copula *-dI*.

3.1.1.5 Case

Turkmen shows the standard six cases found in Turkic languages: nominative -Ø, genitive -(*:n*)*Iň* (GEN), accusative -(*:n*)*I* (ACC), locative -(*n*)*dA* (LOC), dative -(*n*)*A*(*:*) (DAT), and

ablative -(*n*)*dAn* (ABL). Other cases, though unproductive, may still be found with more restricted distribution: the equative -*çA,* instrumental -*I:n,* and allative -*ArI, -I:k*.

The nominative case -Ø is used for the subject, topic, indefinite direct object, indefinite possessors, predicate nominal, and vocative of a sentence. Definiteness of the referent in the nominative case is resolved contextually or through manipulation of word order (e.g., 'right-dislocation'). These are not morphologically glossed in the texts or examples, but may be seen in (N1) with *okuwçylar* 'students'. Here, at the beginning of the news article, 'students' are brought to the center of the discourse stage.

The accusative case -(*:n*)*I* functions to mark definite grammatical objects (N17 *kerpiçlerini*). While indefinite objects are formally indistinguishable from nominals in the nominative case, they are identifiable via word order or other pragmatic/interactional cues. The allomorph -*:nI* appears after vowel-final stems and lengthens the vowel preceding the suffix (*ça:ga-:ny* 'the child' < child-ACC).

The dative case -(*n*)*A*(*:*) marks the grammatical indirect object, typically fulfilling the semantic roles of recipient (N7 *Radiosyna*) or beneficiary (*maňa* 'for/to me'), temporal duration (*sagad-a* 'for an hour'), goal, direction (*gapy-na* 'towards the door'), or purpose (*gör-mä:g-e* '(in order) to see' < see-INF-DAT). Verbs requiring use of the dative case tend to convey inherent or implied directionality (e.g., *garamak* 'inspect, look at'). Allomorph -*nA* appears after stems ending with 3.POSS -(*s*)*I* (*ça:ga-sy-na* 'to his child' < child-3.POSS-DAT),

and allomorph *-A:* appears when stem-final vowels fuse with *-A* (*ca:g-a:* 'to/for the child' < child-DAT).

The genitive case *-(:n)Iň* is the only case which may appear internal to the noun phrase. It attaches to the possessor, and on the thing possessed a possessive suffix is attached (§3.1.1.4) (N2, C48-50, P1). This construction yields a definite reading of the possessed object. As with the accusative case, leaving off the genitive suffix *-Iň* with two juxtaposed nouns, the second of which still retains the possessive suffix, can yield an indefinite reading (N10, P20). This second construction with the indefinite reading is a common source of compounds involving two nouns (*şayýo:ly* 'boulevard' < *şah ýo:l-y* < king road-3.POSS). As with the accusative case, the allomorph *-:nIň* appears after vowel-final stems and lengthens the vowel preceding the suffix (*ça:ga:-nyň* 'the child's' < child-GEN).

The ablative case *-(n)dAn* identifies the semantic source, origin, cause (*saýlaw-dan* 'because of the election' < election-ABL), or manner (*100 kilometrden* 'at 100 kph'). With certain verbs it conveys stimulus (*gorkmak* 'to fear') or theme (*so:ramak* 'to ask'). The ablative also functions as the mark of comparison (*Ol men-den uly* 'He is bigger than me' < 3SG 1SG-ABL big). Fractions are expressed using the ablative as well (*dö:rtden bi:ri* '1/4' < 'from four one'). Allomorph *-ndAn* appears after stems ending with 3.POSS *-(s)I* (*ça:ga-sy-ndan* 'from his child' < child-3.POSS-ABL).

The locative case *-(n)dA* typically expresses the semantic roles of place (N14) and time (C6, P3). Additionally, the locative plays a role in a possessive construction, in which

the locative indicates the possessor. Using the locative in this way can denote general existence (*Men-de pişik ba:r* 'I have a cat' < 1SG-LOC cat exist), or, in conjunction with a possessive suffix on the possessed noun, definite current existence (*Men-de pişig-im ba:r* 'I have my cat [with me]' < 1SG-LOC cat-1SG.POSS exist). Past tense marking may appear after the locative case marker when it is suffixed to a predicate nominal (*Men mekdep-de-di-m* 'I was at school' < 1SG school-LOC-PST-1SG.POSS). Allomorph *-ndA* appears after stems ending with 3.POSS *-(s)I* (*ça:ga-sy-nda* 'at his child' < child-3.POSS-LOC).

3.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are not robustly distinguished from nouns. Like several other elements of a noun phrase (§4.1), they may appear in a headless noun phrase, which means they may take number, person, and case marking and may act as the subject or object argument of a verb. However, their typical occurrence is before the noun they modify. The adjectival class is open insofar as the noun class is open to members, and denominal derivation is widely productive for new forms (*iki etaž-ly* 'two-story' < 2 story-ASSO). Similar to nouns, adjectives may be a simple stem (*gök* 'blue/green'), a derived form (*gar-ly* 'snowy' < snow-ASSO), a compound (*büti:n-dünýä:* 'global' < whole-world), or a reduplicated form (*büdür-südür* 'rough'). Only adjectival forms may take the comparative suffix *-rA:k*

(*haýsy-myz bagt-ly-ra:k?* 'which of us is luckier?' < which-3PL.POSS luck-ASSO-CMPR). The superlative is formed analytically with *iň* or *ha:s* 'most' preceding the adjective. Intensification of adjective quality may be done through intensifiers *örä:n* 'very', *iňňä:n* 'really', *gaty* 'very', and *ýaman* 'terribly', all of which precede the adjective, or through partial or full reduplication (*ezber--ezber* 'very talented').

3.1.2.2 Derivation

Derivation of adjectives from both nouns and verbs is possible, and many of the same suffixes are used as with denominal and deverbal nouns, which demonstrates the closeness of the two classes.

Denominal adjectives may be created with a few suffixes: the associative *-lI* (ASSO), suffix of relation *-(n)KI* (REL), and the privative *-sIz* (PRIV). The associative *-lI* is very productive and may denote the quality of the noun (*gudrat-ly* 'miraculous' < miracle-ASSO), designate a nationality (*hytaý-ly* 'Chinese person' < China-ASSO), or lend a comitative reading (*anten-ly öý* 'house with the satellite dish' < satellite.dish-ASSO house). Other denominal suffixes that are not as productive include *-jAň* (*namys-jaň* 'honorable' < honor-*jaň*), *-lAk,* and *-çIl.* Suffixes shared with denominal nouns include: *-çI, -lIk,* and *-dAş*.

Similarly, deverbal adjectives in many ways behave like deverbal nouns: they share many of the same suffixes, make similar aspectual distinctions, and are seemingly

idiosyncratic in which suffixes may attach to which stems. The suffixes shared between deverbal nouns and deverbal adjectives are a subset of the entire possible set of deverbal noun suffixes: *-Ak, -gAk, -gI, -gIn, -mA,* and *-Ik* (*ga:l-ak* 'underdeveloped' < remain-*Ak*; *ýa:z-gyn* 'unfolded' < spread.out-*gIn*). There do not appear to be any suffixes expressly for the creation of deverbal adjectives.

3.1.3 Pronouns

Pronouns in Turkmen share few formal characteristics as a class, but are functionally united by their deictic and referential uses. Personal and demonstrative pronouns in particular show oblique stems in certain cases that differ from nominative stems.

3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

Turkmen has six personal pronouns, distinguishing person and number: *men* 1SG, *biz* 1PL, *sen* 2SG, *siz* 2PL, *ol* 3SG, *olar* 3PL. Also available are two so called 'multi-plural' pronouns *biz-ler* 1PL-PL and *siz-ler* 2PL-PL, which are mostly restricted to conversational Turkmen and appear to have more rhetorical than grammatical significance. These multi-plural forms individuate a collective plurality as distinct from a general set of possible referents

(Nevskaya 2010) (*Biz-ler hem Türkmen aýal--gyz-lar-y bol-up* 'Us being Turkmen women…' < 1PL-PL also T woman-girl-PL-3.POSS be-CVB).

Personal pronouns decline like nouns with the exception of singular pronouns in the dative case, an exception common in Turkic languages. These appear as follows: *maňa* 1SG.DAT, *saňa* 2SG.DAT, *oňa* 3SG.DAT (i.e., not **men-e* 1SG-DAT, *sen-e* 2SG-DAT, *ol-a* 3SG-DAT as may be predicted). While there are no distinctions for gender or clusivity in the personal pronouns, a sociolinguistic distinction appears in the second person, whereby the plural form may be used for 2PL referents as well as for 2SG referents that are regarded with formality or social distance. In addition, third person proximal demonstratives (*bu:, şu:*) are sometimes used for 3SG, and medial demonstratives (*ol, şol*) for 3PL.

Personal pronouns routinely take a suite of suffixes and particles expressing, among other things, opinion (*men-iň-çe* 'in my opinion' < 1SG-GEN-EQA), affiliation (*biz-dä:ki* 'the thing with/at us' < 3PL-AFIL), and collective association (*sen-dä:ki-ler* 'you and yours' < 2SG-AFIL-PL). The genitive case, when used with personal pronouns, creates possessive pronouns (i.e., 'my, your, our, etc.'), which require and agree with possessive suffixes on the possessed item (N2). This grammatical redundancy requires further research, specifically when and why speakers tend to use either both the pronoun and possessive suffix or simply the possessive suffix to express possession. The genitive case may also combine with the relation suffix *-KI* to create absolute possessives (*men-iň-ki* 'mine' < 1SG-GEN-REL).

3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Turkmen makes a proximal (*bu:, şu:*), medial (*ol, şol*), and distal (*o:l, şo:l, ho:l*) distinction among demonstratives. Between the two proximal demonstratives, *şu:* is reserved for more immediate referents, often things held in hand, while *bu:* for pointing to other proximal objects. Between the medial demonstratives, there does not appear to be a semantic difference between *ol* and *şol*, but among the distal demonstratives, *ho:l* is taken to be farther away than either *o:l* or *şo:l*. Vowel length in distal forms conveys distance iconically. Also available are alternate forms *o:*, *şo:*, and *şul* for *ol, şu,* and *şol* respectively.

Demonstratives may take number, case, and possessive marking. When not in the nominative case, their forms are *mun-, şun-, o(:)n-, şo(:)n-,* and *ho(:)n-* for *bu, şu, o(:)l, şo(:)l,* and *ho(:)l*, respectively. Commonly, the locative or dative attaches to demonstratives to form textual/interactional adverbs like *onda* 'but, still, then' and *ondan soň* 'then, after that'. Similarly the genitive is often used in the adverb *şonuň üçi:n* 'and so, therefore'. Demonstrative pronouns routinely take the affiliative suffix *-dA:kI* (*on-da:ky* 'the thing with him' < 3SG-AFIL) as well as the equative suffix *-çA* (*on-ça* 'like so, such').

3.1.3.3 Interrogative pronouns

The major interrogative pronouns include *kim* 'who', *nä:me* 'what', *nä:me üçi:n* 'why', *haçan* 'when', *haýsy* 'which', *nä:çe* 'how much/many', *niçik* 'how', *nä:çinji* 'which (of an ordinal series)', *nä:dejerede* 'to what degree, amount', *nire* 'where', *nä:dip* 'how (manner)'; and *nä:hili, neneň, nä:tü:ýsli* 'what kind (of), how'.

With the notable exception of *haýsy, haçan,* and *nä:hili,* which do not decline, most interrogative pronouns may take case endings, which lends them much semantic and grammatical flexibility. For example, the pronoun *kim* 'who' forms the basis for words as *kim-iň-ki* 'whose?' (< who-GEN-REL), *kim-ler-de* 'at whose [place]?' (< who-PL-LOC), *kim-e* 'to/for whom?' (< who-DAT), and *kim-den* 'from whom?' (< who-ABL). 'Why?' is expressed either though *nä:me üçi:n* (< what for) or *nä:me-den* (< what-ABL). The pronoun *nire* 'where' commonly takes dative (*nir-ä:* 'to where'), ablative (*nire-den* 'from where'), and locative cases (*nire-de* 'at where').

Interrogative pronouns may combine with a number of other forms to determine their quantity or number. For distributive pronouns, *her* 'every' is placed before the interrogative pronoun (*her haýsy* 'each one'). Similarly for negative pronouns, *hi:ç* 'none' precedes the interrogative pronoun (*hi:ç kim* 'nobody'), which conditions negative concord in the rest of the clause.

3.1.3.4 Reflexive pronoun

There is one independent reflexive pronoun in Turkmen, *ö:z*, which has reflexive and emphatic functions, roughly corresponding to 'self' or 'own'. The reflexive pronoun may also take plural, possessive, and case suffixes. By itself in unaffixed form, *ö:z* acts as a modifier, appearing before nouns to indicate reflexive possession. In these cases, the noun it modifies takes possessive marking that indexes the identity of the possessor (S19 'it's own fate'). The reflexive pronoun often appears by itself with a possessive suffix as the subject of a clause (P25 as subject). These forms may appear with a possessor in the genitive case, in which case there may be an emphatic reading (*meniň ö:z-üm* 'I myself' < 1SG self-1SG.POSS). In the texts, the reflexive pronoun takes the genitive case, as in (N14) where *ö:zleriniň* indicates the subject of the complement clause following it (§4.4.2), or in (P15), where *ö:züňe* takes the dative case as object of the predicating adjective *bagly* 'dependent'.

3.1.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers in Turkmen consist of numerals and lexical quantifiers.

3.1.4.1 Numerals

Turkmen cardinal numerals 1-10 are 1 *bir,* 2 *iki,* 3 *üç,* 4 *dö:rt*, 5 *bä:ş*, 6 *alty,* 7 *ýedi*, 8 *sekiz*, 9 *dokuz*, 10 *o:n*. Subsequent decades are 20 *ýigrimi,* 30 *otuz*, 40 *kyrk,* 50 *elli*, 60 *altmyş*, 70 *ýetmiş,* 80 *segsen,* 90 *togsan*, and larger magnitudes include 100 *ýüz,* 1000 *müň*, million *million,* billion *milliard,* and trillion *trillion.* Numerals combine using multiplication and addition (*bir müň* 'one thousand', *dokuz ýuz kyrk dö:rt* 'nine hundred forty four'). Shortening of the long vowel in *o:n* occurs in numbers 11-19, and conversely, lengthening occurs in *bir* 'one' in numbers ending in one (*otuz bi:r* '31'). When counting specific quantities, speakers often use the counting words *sa:ny* or *sanak* 'count' (*üç sa:ny baýguş* 'three owls' < 3 count owl).

Pronominal use of numbers is common. The number *bir* 'one' is often found as a third person pronoun in the reciprocal pronoun (*bi:ri-bi:ri* 'one another') or as a representative of a set (i.e., 'one of…') (N7). Possessive suffixes may also attach to numerals to form collective pronouns (*dö:rt-imiz* 'the four of us' < four-1PL.POSS).

In order to form ordinals, the suffix *-InjI* is attached (N18-19). Collective numerals are created using a cardinal numeral and a possessive suffix (*iki-ňiz* 'the two of you' < two-2PL.POSS) or using *bolup* 'as, being' (*dö:rt bolup* 'as four, the four'). Approximates are created by a number of means, including the plural suffix *-lAr* (*sagat o:n bir-ler* 'around 11:00' < hour ten one-PL) or *-lA:p* (*27 hepde-lä:p* 'for about 27 months' < 27 week-*lA:p*), compounds (*o:n--ýigrimi* 'ten or twenty'), or postposition *töwerek* 'environs' (*sekiz garga töwerek* 'around eight crows' < eight crow environs).

3.1.4.2 Lexical quantifiers

Lexical quantifiers appear in noun phrases to specify the quantity or amount of a noun, expressing an indefinite amount ('some, a few, a group of, many'), a distributive or collective quantity ('each, every, all, entire'), or negative amounts ('none'). In addition to their role as modulating quantity, lexical quantifiers behave in many ways like pronouns and may combine with other elements to create other modifiers, adverbs, and pronouns. Only the most common quantifiers are mentioned here.

The primary means for expressing indeterminate amounts is by using the indefinite quantifier *bir* 'one'. As a modifier, it means 'some, certain' (*bir za:t* 'something' < one thing), and may also serve as an indefinite article (*bir owgan* 'an Afghan'). It is found in combination with a variety of forms for a range of similar meanings (*bir-ki* 'a couple' < one-two; *bir-hi:li* 'somewhat' < one-type; *bir-nä:çe* 'several' < one-how.many; *nä:medir bir za:t* 'something or other'; *kimdir bi:ri* 'somebody'; *bir topar kepderi* 'a group of pigeons'). Indefinite quantities are also expressed through *köp, kä:n* 'many, much' and *a:z* 'few, little'. In addition to their pronominal characteristics, these forms (*köp, kä:n, a:z*) commonly serve as predicates. The lexical quantifier *köp* 'much, many' also acts as an adverb (§3.3.1).

The distributive quantifier *her* 'each, every' may modify nouns (*her gün* 'each day') and may also combine with a set other forms to create modifiers (*her hi:li* 'all types of'),

pronouns (*her haýsy* 'whichever'), and adverbs (*her hepdede* 'weekly'). Collective quantifiers include *hemme* 'all', *büti:n* 'entire', *ähli* 'whole', and *tutuş* 'entire', which designative collectives/entireties (N12, 17), form adverbs (*hemme ýerde* 'everywhere'), and act as pronouns (*hemme* 'everybody'). Distributive quantifiers *her, hemme,* and *ähli* may take possessive endings to form pronouns (*herimiz* 'each of us').

The negative quantifier *hi:ç* may appear before nouns to express their absence, and may also combine with other forms to create fairly transparent pronouns (*hi:ç kim* 'nobody', *hi:ç hi:li* 'no kind of', *hi:ç za:t* 'nothing') and adverbs (*hi:ç haçan* 'never', *hi:ç ýerde* 'nowhere').

3.2 Verbals

The verbal class consists of finite and non-finite forms. A verb root may be derived from nearly any class, and the verb stem's template may be represented as *ROOT-ACTIONALITY-DIATHESIS.* Inflectional suffixes build upon this template. Finite verb inflections appear as follows: *VERB.STEM-NEGATIVE.PARTICLE-THEMATIC.MARKER-PERSON.MARKER-PARTICLE*. Non-finite verbal forms, which include verbal nouns, participles, and converbs, may take only a restricted set of inflections (§3.2.3), often in addition to nominal morphology.

3.2.1 Derivation

Morphological derivation of verb stems may be done from words of numerous subclasses. The denominal verbalizer *-lA* is the most productive (*tow-la-mak* 'twist' < turn-VBLZ-INF), being able to combine with the reflexive *-n* (*piker-le-n-mek* 'contemplate' < thought-VBLZ-REFL-INF), cooperative *-ş* (*el-le-ş-mek* 'shake hands' < hand-VBLZ-COOP-INF), and causative *-t* (*ýat-la-t-mak* 'remind' < memory-VBLZ-CAUS-INF). *-lA* may also attach to some adverbial forms to create verbs (*tiz-le-n-mek* 'accelerate' < *tiz* 'quick'). Other denominal verbalizing suffixes include *-rA, -A, -sA, -jAr, -jIrA, -IrgI, -GAr,* and *-sIrA* (*dä:li-re-mek* 'go insane'). Many of these same suffixes operate with adjectives (*ýaky:n-laş-mak* 'approach' < near-VBLZ-INF), though the deadjectival suffix *-(A)l* is restricted to adjective stems for creating intransitive verbs (*agr-al-mak* 'gain weight' < heavy-VBLZ-INF). Finally, de-onomatopoeic suffixes include *-(I)ldA* and *-(I)rdA* (*hik-irde-mek* 'giggle').

Deverbal derivation is highly productive and can create rather complex stems. Deverbal suffixes appear in the following order: VERB.ROOT-ACTIONALITY-DIATHESIS.

Actionality suffixes modify the inherent lexical quality of the verb root, expressing distinctions of transformativity (§3.2.2.4.1), frequency, intensity, and simulation. Modification of transformativity is predominantly achieved through analytic means (§3.2.2.4.1), with the only actional suffix in Turkmen being *-Iber* (TRANS), which highlights a transformative meaning in a verb (S17) and is especially common in imperatives (§3.2.2.3). Actionality suffixes expressing frequency, many of which are based on the denominal

suffix *-lA,* include -(*A*)*lA, -GIlA, -KAlA,* -(*A*)*KlA, -mAlA, -jA, -jAKlA,* and -(*I*)*şdIr* (*sermelemek* ‘rifle through’ < *sermek* ‘search’). Actionality suffixes modifying intensity are less productive, but include the intensive suffixes -(*A*)*ňkIrlA* and *-mArlA* (*basmarla-* ‘torture’ < press-*mArlA*), and the attenuative *-jIrA* (*derjiremek* ‘sweat a little’ < *dermek* ‘sweat’). Also available is the simulative suffix *-sIrA* (*awasyramak* ‘pretend to be in great pain’ < *awamak* ‘be in pain’).

Diathetic suffixes, as with actionality suffixes, alter the lexical meaning of the stem, but also modify the valency of the root, yielding suffixes of voice (i.e., active, passive, middle/reflexive, reciprocal/cooperative, and causative). These appear after an actional suffix and may be combined with another diathetic suffix. Active voice is typically the default form of a root, with passives created via the suffix -(*I*)*l*, or *-In* if the stem ends in [l] (*aç-yl-mak* ‘to be opened’ < *aç-* ‘open’). Middle/Reflexive voice is conveyed with suffix *-In*, which is identical to a passive voice allomorph and may be differentiated contextually or through grammatical relations (*ed-in-mek* ‘get something for yourself’ < make-REFL-INF). The reciprocal/cooperative voice is expressed through the suffix -(*I*)*ş* and semantically implicates multiple entities engaging in an action either reciprocally or against/with one another (*syg-yş-mak* ‘fit together’ < fit-COOP-INF). The causative voice is expressed through multiple suffixes, most prominently *-dIr* and, for vowel-final stems, *-t* (*uzak-laş-dyr-mak* ‘prolong’ < long-VBLZ-CAUS-INF). Diathetic suffixes may combine with one another. For example a verb stem may appear with causative and cooperative suffixes (*bil-dir-iş-mek*

'announce to one another' < know-CAUS-COOP-INF), or causative, cooperative, and reflexive suffixes (*çal-yş-yr-yn-mak* 'change [clothes]' < spread-COOP-CAUS-REFL-inf).

Analytic derivation is also highly developed in Turkmen. Such contructions result in verbal complexes involving converb constructions or nominal forms with auxiliary verbs (§3.2.2.4).

3.2.2 Finite

Finite verb forms are united by their ability to stand in syntactically independent clauses. They may take the full suite of inflections included in the template *STEM-NEGATION.PARTICLE-THEMATIC.MARKER-PERSON.MARKER-PARTICLE*, but usually require a suffix that inflects for tense, aspect, and mood (the thematic marker), and a suffix that marks person/number (a personal marker). Thematic markers and person markers are discussed below, while particles are discussed in section (§3.2.3.2). Polarity is most commonly marked with the negative suffix *-mA*, though a number of allomorphs exist as noted below (§3.2.2.1). Also discussed in this section are directives, auxiliaries, and modality.

3.2.2.1 Thematic markers

Thematic markers are verbal suffixes that convey aspectotemporal information (analytic devices are also well developed §3.2.2.4), and often specify for mood and evidentiality as well. In what follows, I first explain terminality, which is the means by which Turkic languages express aspect, and then present the range of thematic markers available in Turkmen according to their temporal localization (past, present, future tenses).

Aspect in Turkic languages is more precisely conceived of as terminality (i.e., intraterminal or postterminal), which specifies the particular viewpoint taken on an event with regard to its relevant limits (i.e., beginning, interval, and ending). An intraterminal perspective envisages an event as occurring after its commencement but before its conclusion; these are often termed imperfects or progressives. Postterminals, on the other hand, envisage an event as occurring after the transgression of some crucial limit, which may be the incipience of an event (e.g., statives like *hide*) or its culmination (e.g., perfects like *suffocate*). The crucial limit of a particular verb depends on its particular actionality (§3.2.1).

3.2.2.1.1 Present tense thematic markers

The present tense thematic suffixes include intraterminal and postterminals for events reported directly and indirectly (§3.3.3.3 for indirectivity). The simple present (PRS)

-ýA:r/*-mAýA:r*[3] is the present intraterminal, and the negative present perfect[4] (NEG.PRS.PRF) (paradigm in §3.2.2.2) is the present postterminal. The simple present is aspectually interpretable as a progressive (*ol gelýä:r* 'he is coming'), gnomic (*sygyrlar sü:ýt berýä:r* 'cows give milk'), prospective (*ertir okatýa:ryn* 'I teach tomorrow'). It is also used for describing a situation that started in the past still continues (*Olar bä:rde üç ýyl ýaşaýa:rlar* 'They've been living here three years'). The negative present perfect is used for aborted or otherwise incompleted past actions with present relevance, and is commonly found with verbs of cognition (*bilemo:k* 'I don't know' or 'I hadn't known'). The positive form of this thematic suffix is created analytically (§3.2.2.4).

The two indirective forms of present tense thematic suffixes are the presumptive imperfect (PRSM.IMPF) *-ýA:ndIr*/*-mAýA:ndIr* and the presumptive perfect (PRSM.PRF) *-AndIr*/*-An dä:ldir* or *-mA:ndIr*. The presumptive imperfect is an intraterminal like the simple present, but differs in that it expresses an evidential distinction whereby the speaker infers the likelihood of their statement. In (C28) for example, Maral has just learned in C27 that Myrat's brother knows Roza, and states *Gowy bilýä:ndir* 'He must know her well'. Ostensibly, the speaker used this thematic suffix to index both the recency of her learning this information, and the intraterminal nature of her knowing. This thematic suffix is transparently composed of the present tense participle *-ýA:n*/*-mAýA:n* (§3.2.3.2)

[3] Thematic markers appear with the affirmative form and then the respective negated form after a forward slash.

[4] No corresponding affirmative form exists

plus the affirmative particle *-dIr* (§3.3.3.2). The presumptive perfect functions similarly, though as a postterminal, it envisages an event as occurring after the transgression of its crucial limit (*Olar bişmä:ndirler* 'They probably haven't ripened yet'). This thematic suffix is composed of the past tense participle *-An/-mA:n* (§3.2.3.2) and the affirmative particle *-dIr*.

3.2.2.1.2 Past tense thematic markers

Past tense (PST) is primarily realized through the copular suffix *-dI/-mAdI* (*oýna-dy-ňyz* 'you played' < play-PST-2PL.POSS), which by itself is postterminal, usually indicating an event has occurred in its entirety, beginning to end. An interesting feature of the past tense copular suffix *-dI* is its clitic-like ability to attach to predicates. That is, many nominals and indeclinable classes appearing as the predicate of a sentence may take *-dI* for a past tense localization. For example, nominals in the locative case (C53-54), postpositions (§3.3.2) (*ýürek-ler-imiz on-uň bilen-di* 'our hearts were with him' < heart-PL-1PL.POSS 3SG.GEN with-PAST.3SG), and adjectives (§3.1.2) (*gatnaşyk gowy-dy* 'the relationship was good' < relationship good-PAST.3SG) may all take the past tense copula. This morphological promiscuity of *-dI* underlies the formation of numerous other past tense thematic markers, detailed below.

Past postterminal thematic suffixes include the pluperfect *-IpdI/-mA:ndI*, which describes completed actions of current relevance (*el ga:ldyrypdy* 'he had raised his hand'); the past prospective *-jAkdI/-jAk dä:ldi*, which depicts past actions of current relevance as intended but unfulfilled (*kömekleşjekdim* 'I was going to help'); and the presumptive past (PRSM.PST) *-IpdIr/-mA:ndIr*, which is an indirective postterminal form expressing a measure of certainty on the part of the speaker (C19, C22).

The two past intraterminal thematic suffixes are the past progressive (PST.PROG) *-ýA:rdI/-mAýA:rdI,* which depicts past events as occurring continuously or repeatedly over a bounded period of time (*garaşýa:rdyk* 'we were waiting'); and the habitual past *-ArdI/-mAzdI*, which colors actions with habitual or repetitive actionality (*şaşka oýnardyk* 'we used to play checkers').

Of the past tense suffixes, the presumptive past and habitual past commonly express desiderative modality when following a conditional clause (§3.2.3.3) (*ol ta:ý-da ýaş-ardy-m* 'I would live there' < that place-LOC live-HABITUAL.PST-1SG.POSS), while the pluperfect and the presumptive past are commonly found in order to advance the narrative in stories (C19, C21-22).

3.2.2.1.3 Future tense thematic markers

Thematic suffixes expressing futurity are not as developed as past and present tense markers. They are the definite future (DEF.FUT) *-jAk/-jAk dä:l* and indefinite future (INDF.FUT) *-A(:)r/-mAr.* There is secondary vowel length and on the positive indefinite future suffix following verb stems ending in -r or -l, which delete in the process (*gel-e:r* [gɛ:r] 'will come' < come-INDF.FUT.3SG). As their designations suggest, the operative difference between these two thematic suffixes is degree of certainty of the part of the speaker regarding the likelihood of the prospective action.

The definite future *-jAk/-jAk dä:l* communicates not only the localization of the proposition in the future, but also the conviction of the speaker regarding the eventuality of the proposition. The definite future does not inflect for person, but rather takes this information from a free pronoun or the discourse (*men gel-jek dä:l* 'I won't come/be coming' < come-DEF.FUT NEG). Indeed, given the strong commitment that the definite future carries and the face-threatening nature of ascribing future actions to others, this thematic marker is generally only used for the first person singular. Furthermore, it is commonly found with some other hedge like *öýt-ýä:r-in* 'I think' (< think-PRS-1SG.PERS).

By contrast, the indefinite future occurs much more frequently in discourse, as it does not commit the speaker to the occurrence of some action. It could be said that this thematic suffix is more concerned with mood and aspect rather than tense. Indeed, this form has been called the 'aorist' in the Turkic literature (Johanson 1989), meaning it conveys uncertainty, predisposition, and prospectivity. As such, its use is appropriate in a

variety of situations. Its primary usage is in positing a possible action at some indefinite time, usually in the future (P28-30). Beyond this, it is also interpretable as a present tense suffix, given its usage in modal formations (C19, P16-19), in expressing a predisposition to perform some act (S2), or imminent commencement of an action (*gel-e:r-siň-mi* 'are you coming?' < come-INDF.FUT-2SG.PERS-Q). It is also often found in proverbs, reflecting a gnomic usage (*Dag-y--daş-y ýo:l boz-ar, dost ara-sy-ny söz boz-ar* 'As rocks destroy the road, a word may overturn a friendship' < mountain-3.POSS-rock-3.POSS road erase-INDF.FUT.3 friend space.between-3.POSS-ACC word ERASE-INDF.FUT.3).

3.2.2.2 Person markers

Person markers follow thematic markers on verb stems and indicate person and number. Two paradigms cover the majority of thematic suffixes: the personal and possessive. Table 7 shows these person markers along with those for the negative present perfect, which takes neither the personal nor possessive paradigms, and three other irregular paradigms.

Table 7. Paradigms for person markers

	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Personal PERS	*-In*	*-Is*	*-sIň*	*-sIňIz*	*-Ø*	*-lAr*
Possessive POSS	*-Im*	*-Ik*	*-Iň*	*-IňIz*	*-I*	*-IlAr*
Negative present perfect NEG.PRS.PRF	*-A(:)mo:k*	*-A(:)mIzo:k*	*-A(:)ňo:k*	*-A(:)ňIzo:k*	*-A(:)no:k*	*-A(:)no:klAr*
Negative indefinite future NEG.INDF.FUT	*-mArIn*	*-mArIs*	*-mArsIň*	*- mArsIňIz*	*-mAz*	*-mAzlAr*
Indirective particle	*-Im*	*-Ik ~ -ImIz*	*-Iň*	*-IňIz*	*-In*	*-In ~ -lAr*

Indirective modal	*-im*	*-ik ~ -imiz*	*-iň*	*-iňiz*	*-i ~ -Ø*	*-i ~ -ler*

The thematic suffixes that take the personal paradigm include all present tense markers, with the exception of the negated present perfect. In addition to these, the indefinite future (*-A(:)r/-mAr, -mAz*), which sometimes has present tense or 'aorist' readings, takes the personal paradigm, as do any thematic suffixes ending in the affirmative *-dIr* (e.g., *-IpdIr* PRSM.PST). An interesting feature of the personal paradigm is the ability for these suffixes to attach to nominals for a copular reading (P2-13).

The possessive paradigm is nearly isomorphic to the nominal suffixes marking possession (§3.1.1.4), and is used with all past tense thematic markers. Put another way, the paradigm may be used with any constituent that can take the past tense suffix *-dI,* which includes things like conditionals and predicate nominals in locative case (C54).

There are a few irregular paradigms. The negative present perfect paradigm, in the terminology used here so far, represents both thematic and person markers in one, in that they attach directly to the verb stem. This stands in contrast to the predominant pattern of STEM-THEMATIC.MARKER-PERSON.MARKER. This irregularity arises from the contraction of a past tense participle, a possessive marker, and *ýo:k* 'not exist'. That is, a form like *bilemo:k* 'I don't know' is, in expanded form, *bil-en-im ýo:k* (know-PST.PRT-1SG.POSS not.exist). This analysis explains why these suffixes may take the past tense copula, since *ýo:k* itself may take it (*ony iý-il-eno:k-di* 'it had not been eaten' < 3SG.ACC eat-PASS-NEG.PRS.PRF-PST.3SG).

Other exceptions include the negative indefinite future tense (the 'aorist'), which is identical to the personal paradigm save for 3SG. Additionally, a number of thematic markers whose negative forms make use of *dä:l* 'not' do not inflect for person at all, but rather this information must be inferred from context or taken from an overt pronominal subject. These include the markers for definite future *-jAk/-jAk dä:l*, intentionality *-mAkçI/-mAkçI dä:l,* and obligation *-mAlI/-mAlI dä:l.*

Finally, the indirective particle *-mIş* and indirective modal *eken/eken dä:l* (§3.3.3.3) are not thematic suffixes and do not predicate, but rather comment on a speaker's awareness of some information. These indirectives, however, still take person marking, which agrees with the subject and mostly resembles those for possessive markers and possessive person markers with some variation. Note that the paradigm for the indirective modal *eken/eken dä:l* only contains front unrounded vowels. This is because it is an independent word, not a suffix or particle that would conform to vowel harmony rules.

3.2.2.3 Directives

Directives are commands or exhortations that are modulated according to number, formality, and force. The basic imperative (i.e. second person directive) is *-Ø(Iň)/-mA(:ň),* where the addition of morpheme *-Iň* changes 2SG to 2PL, or lends formality and social distance when used in addressing a 2SG referent (*ýuw* 'wash', *ýuwma:ň* 'please don't wash').

Other imperative forms include-s*AnA/-mAsAnA*, which typically is used with familiar or intimate relations (*goýsana* 'just put it down for a sec'), *-gIn/-mAgIn*, which is used for polite but insistent commands (*seretgin* 'you gotta see this'). The suffix of permission *-A:ý* is involved in giving suggestions and recommendations, appearing as suffixes *-A(:)ý(Iň)/-mA:ý(Iň), -A:ýmA(:ň)* (*dadyp görä:ý* 'why don't you give it a taste'). Maximally polite and formal requests are done with the suffix *-sAňIzlA:(ň)/-mAsAňIzlA:(ň)* (*wyşyrdasaňyzla:ň* 'if you don't mind, would you please be so kind as to whisper').

Semantically, the previous imperative suffixes direct a recipient to initiate some action (or, if negated, inaction). By contrast, the suffixes *-I(:)ber(iň)/-I(:)bermä(:ň)* and *-A(:)wEr(i)/-A:wErmA(:ň)* direct a recipient to initiate, or more commonly, proceed or maintain some action; i.e. they imply that the action is imminent, nascent, or in-progress. These are commonly found in granting permission and instruction (*aýdyber* 'go ahead and speak', 'keep speaking', 'go on').

The hortative (i.e. 1SG directive) is expressed with the suffix *-A(:)ýIn/-mA(:)ýIn* (*aýdaýyn* 'let me/allow me to speak'), which is composed of the permissive suffix *-Aý* and 1SG personal marker. The cohortative (1PL directive) uses two different sets of suffixes to distinguish for the minimal inclusive :*-A(:)lI/-mA:lI* for a single addressee, and an augmented inclusive *-A(:)lI:ň/-mA(:)lI:ň* for multiple addressees (Dobrushina and Gouseev 2005, Nevskaya 2005). The terms minimal inclusive and augmented inclusive are preferred

over dual and plural given that there is no grammatical dual in Turkmen. When these attach to verb stems with final vowels, the first vowel of the suffix is lengthened.

Third person directives are typically expressed with the suffix *-sIn*(*lAr*)*/-mAsIn*(*lAr*), which is regularly found in toasts, blessings, and wishes (*ýuz ýaş-yňyz bol-sun* 'may you live to be 100' < 100 age-2PL.POSS be-OPT). This also has some overlap with the imperative, in which case it is heard as a permissive or a slightly indirect command (*ýabşyrsyn* 'let him sew it' or 'it'd be a good idea to sew it on'). In addition to *-sIn*(*lAr*)*/-mAsIn*(*lAr*)*,* the conditional suffix (§3.2.3.3) may function as a polite command (*al-sa-ňyz* 'would you please take' < take-COND-2PL.POSS), or, in combination with the permissive suffix *-Aý*, as a very polite suggestion (*al-a:ý-sy-ňyz* 'if you would be so kind as to please take' < take-PERMISSIVE-COND-2PL.POSS).

3.2.2.4 Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliaries are finite verb forms that combine with verbals or nominals to create verbal complexes of the form N+AUX or V+AUX. These complexes form single predicates with a high degree of semantic fusion and heavy restrictions on intervening material. They display a broad range of meanings and functions, which I divide below into transformativizers, nontransformativizers, and other auxiliaries.

As regards transformativity, verbs are transformative if they imply the transgression of some crucial limit in their actional content. That is, verbs may be inherently initiotransformative, meaning they place the crucial limit at the initiation of the action (e.g., *hide*); finitransformative, meaning they place the limit at the end (e.g., *earn*); or non-transformative, meaning no inherent limit is implied (e.g., *ponder*). Many verbs are ambiguous with regard to their transformativity (e.g., *fall* may be 'start falling', 'fall down', or 'be falling'), and so transformative suffixes indicate the intended actional content. Aspect, then, may be seen as operating on and sensitive to a verb's actionality; the viewpoint taken on an action depends on where (if anywhere) that action's crucial limit is located (Johanson 2004). Actional auxiliaries may be divided into transformativizers and nontransformativizers. Transformative auxiliaries indicate a sensitivity to a verb's crucial limit, whereas nontransformative auxiliaries treat such limits as immaterial.

3.2.2.4.1 Transformative auxiliaries

The auxiliary verbs in this section are of the V+AUX type and modify the aspectual (§3.2.2.1) or actional quality of the preceding verb. Verbal complexes with transformative auxiliaries often convey execution, abruptness, rapidity, or completion. That is, transformatives highlight an action's inherent crucial limit, be it the commencement or

completion of that action; and conversely they disregard the ongoing course of progression an action may imply.

Those verbal complexes highlighting the beginning of an action include *-Ip başla-* 'start' and *-Ip ugra-* 'set off' (*oýn-a:p başla-dy* 'he started to play' < play-CVB start-PST.3SG); *-mA:gA dur-* 'stop, stand' and *-mA:gA otur-* 'sit' (*çaga-la-ma:g-a otur-dy* 'she [sat down and] started to give birth' < child-VBLZ-INF-DAT sit -PST.3SG); and *-Ip git-* 'go', *-Ip taşla-* 'throw', *-Ip goý-* 'put', *-Ip goýber-* 'release', and *-Ip -iber* 'send' (*biz-i kow-up goýber-di* 'he suddenly dismissed us' < 1PL.ACC dismiss-CVB release-PST.3SG).

For emphasizing the successful completion of some action or the attainment of some state, various auxiliaries are available. Constructions with *-Ip çyk-* 'leave', *-Ip bol-* 'be, become', *-Ip gel-* 'come', and *-Ip gutar-* 'finish' all indicate a finished action (*gaç-yp çyk-ypdyr* 'he escaped' < flee-CVB exit-PRES.PST.3SG), while the construction *-Ip -ga:l* 'stay, remain' indicates that the subject has attained and remains in some condition (*makulla-:p ga:l-dy* 'he came to approve' < approve-CVB stay-PST.3SG).

3.2.2.4.2 Nontransformative auxiliaries

Verbal complexes with nontransformative auxiliaries, by contrast, impose a reading on an action wherein its limits are unimportant. Rather, it is the ongoing action that is highlighted with these auxiliaries. One set of nontransformative auxiliaries involves the

contracted forms of verbs of position:[5] *du:r-* 'be standing', *oty:r-* 'be sitting', *ýaty:r-* 'be lying'. These contracted verbs of position by themselves (i.e., not in a verbal complex) may appear as the sole verb of a finite clause, and designate the subject's current bodily configuration at the time of speaking (*tapçan-da oty:r-lar* 'They're lying on the veranda' < veranda-LOC sit.PROG-PL)[6]. They may be temporally localized in the past with *-dI* (*diňe bir çaga oty:r-dy* 'Only one child was sitting' < only one child sit.PROG-PST.3SG) or future with *-Ar/-mAr* (§3.2.2.1). These contracted verbs have no negated forms.

When they appear in verbal complexes, these verbs of position may specify the bodily configuration of the subject (*iý-ip oty:r* 'he's eating [while sitting]'; *garaşyp du:r* 'he's waiting [while standing]'). For inanimate subjects, *du:r* 'be standing' must be used (*holodilnig-iň du:r-my* 'Is your refrigerator running?' < refrigerator-2SG.POSS stand.PROG.3SG-Q). Extending from this literal usage are constructions that modify the preceding *-Ip* converb to impart readings of durativity, repetition, contiguity, stability, regularity, or consistency (*Ol uniwerisitet-de oka-:p oty:r* 'He's [studying/a student] at university now' < 3SG university-LOC study-CVB sit.PROG.3SG). The auxiliary *du:r* 'be standing' is commonly used for describing longstanding, habitual, or stative-type actions with that have some consequence for the immediate situation (*Men nirä:-k bar-sa-m--da, NTW eýýäm şol ýer-de garaş-yp du:r* 'Wherever I go, NTV is already waiting there' < 1SG where-ALLATIVE go-COND-

[5] Contracted forms derive from the ROOT-INDF.FUT form, so, for example, the auxiliary *du:r* 'be standing' comes from *dur-ar* [dɒror] 'will stand' and *oty:r* 'be sitting' from *otur-yr* [otɒror] 'will sit'.
[6] While I gloss these forms as PROG, speakers prefer the present indefinite thematic suffix for describing actions that are in progress at the time of speaking.

1SG.POSS-FOC NTV already that place-LOC wait-CVB stand.PROG.3SG). For greater focality on the present moment, *oty:r* 'be sitting' is used (*şol sebäp-li iş-siz-lig-em köp-el-ip gid-ip oty:r* 'Because of that, unemployment is rapidly rising' < that reason-ASSO work-PRIV-NMLZ-also much-PASS-CVB go-CVB sit.PROG.3SG). Usage of *ýaty:r* 'be lying' is more restricted to describing the literal bodily configuration of a subject (*işig-iň-i ýassan-yp ýaty:r* 'it's leaning against your door' < door-ACC lean-CVB lie.PROG.3SG). One last contracted verb form is *ýö:r* 'walk, move' (from *ýöremek* 'walk, move'), which does not appear outside of a verbal complex (i.e., it appears only as an auxiliary). It connotes habitual or regular action occurring over an extended period with little to no consequence for the immediate speech situation (*adam-lar-dan pul so:ra-:p ýö:r* 'He goes around begging for money' < man-PL-ABL money ask-CVB move.PROG.3SG). In order to negate these constructions, the converb is negated (*men bu hepde iç-mä:n oty:r-yn* 'I'm not drinking this week' < 1SG this week drink-NEG.CVB sit.PROG-1SG.PERS).

Some of these verbs of position appear in non-contracted forms as auxiliaries. The verbs *dur-* 'stand' and *otur-* 'sit', for example, are available as auxiliaries in nontransformative constructions stressing more stative and continuous actions (*ýurd-uň bujet-i-ne pul üznük-siz gel-ip dur-ar* 'Money will be flowing uninerrupted to the country's budget' < country-GEN budget-3.POSS-DAT money interruption-PRIV come-CVB stand-INDF.FUT.3). The verbs *ýöre-* 'move, walk' and *gel-* 'come' are used as auxiliaries and provide greater focality on the relevance of an ongoing or repetitious action for the present

situation (*Terjime-çi-lik iş-i-ne adaty adam-lar kä:n bir ä:hmiýet ber-ip ýöre-nok* 'Most people haven't given translation work a second thought' < translate-ACT-NMLZ work-3.POSS-DAT usual man-PL much one significance give-CVB move-NEG.PRS.PRF.3). Finally, other nontransformative constructions involve two finite verbs, the second of which is the auxiliary, in a so-called double-verb construction (Csato 2003). In Turkmen, the set of auxiliaries that combine with finite verbs are *dur-* 'stand', *otur-* 'sit', and *ýöre-* 'move, walk'. Morphologically, both verbs in a double-verb construction take the same thematic markers and personal markers. The precise semantic difference between double-verb constructions and the aforementioned actional modifiers remains to be determined for Turkmen.

3.2.2.4.2 Other auxiliaries

Other verbal complexes of the type V+AUX and N+AUX are available. The V+Aux complexes may specify, for instance, a subject's direction of movement during some action using the auxiliaries *git-* 'go', *gi:r-* 'enter', *çyk-* 'exit', *gel-* 'come', or *bar-* 'go' (*ylga:-p gi:r-di* 'he came in running' < run-CVB enter-PST.3SG). Actions performed for onself are encoded through the converb suffix *-Ip* plus *al-* 'take', and those performed for someone else use *-Ip ber-* 'give'; the beneficiary takes the dative case suffix (*saňa guý-up ber-er* 'he'll pour it for you' < 2SG.DAT pour-CVB give-INDF.FUT). Attempts and experiments are

expressed using *-Ip görmek* 'to see' (*sugun-y yzla:-p gör-ýä:r* 'he's trying to follow the deer' < deer-ACC track-CVB see-PRS.3SG). Physical or mental ability may be expressed with *-Ip bil-* 'know' (*ýaş-lar gatnaş-yp bil-ýä:r-ler* 'the youth can participate' < youth-PL participate-CVB know-PRS.3PL.PERS). Social ability, permission, or propriety to do something is expressed through a number of constructions involving *bol-* 'be'; these include *-Ip bol-*, *-sA bol-*, and *-mAk bol-* (*çilim çek-mek bol-ýa:r-my?* 'is it okay to smoke?' < cigarette draw-INF be-PRS.3SG-Q; *gi:r-se-m bol-ýa:r-my?* 'may I enter?' < enter-COND-1SG.POSS be.PRS.3SG-Q).

Turkmen displays a wide range of N+AUX complexes, which consist of a nominal element plus an auxiliary ('light verb') drawn from a restricted set of verbs, including *bol-* 'be/become, *et-* 'do/make', *ber-* 'give', *tut-* 'take, hold', *çek-* 'draw', and *gör-* 'see'. The resulting complexes may be semantically transparent (*bat al-* 'accelerate' < speed take-; *habat et-* 'inform' < news do), while others may be more opaque (*boýun al-* 'confess' < neck take; *ýaka tut-* 'be surprised' < collar hold).

3.2.2.5 Modality

Modality expresses a speaker's position relative to the informational and social content of an utterance, often qualifying, mitigating, or intensifying that position. Modality expressed in verbal constructions is discussed here, and other ways of expressing modality are discussed in (§3.3.3).

Obligative modality is encoded in the suffix *-mAlI/-mAlI dä:l* ('should, must, has to'), which does not take personal markers, but receives person and number information from a free personal pronoun (*sen gül-meli dä:l* 'you shouldn't laugh' < 2SG laugh-OBLG not). Note that the negated form *-mAli dä:l* receives the interpretation of 'must not', rather than 'not have to'. It inflects for future using the indefinite future form of *bolmak* 'to be' (*otuz minut-dan soň git-meli bol-ar-yn* 'I'll have to go in 30 minutes' < 30 minute-ABL after go-OBLG be-INDF.FUT.1SG.PERS), and for past with suffix *-dI* (*olar ga:l-maly-dylar* 'they had to stay' < 3PL stay-OBLG-PST.3PL.PERS). The obligative may also act as a participle in modifying nouns (*arassamaly otag* 'the room which must be cleaned'), and may take *-dIr* for greater intensity (*sen gelmelidiriň* 'you really have to come'). It can also take the suffix of permission *-A:ý* to create normative statements based on personal conviction of what should be done (*-A:ýmAlI/-A:ýmAlI dä:l* 'should do this [because it's the sensible thing to do]'). The adverb *hökma:n* 'absolutely' is used to intensify an obligation into something mandatory (*hökma:n okamaly* 'You absolutely must read'). Also available are constructions involving *gerek/gerek dä:l* 'need/necessary', which appear in impersonal constructions *-mAklIk gerek*, *-mAk gerek* (*aýtmak gerek* 'It is necessary to speak up'), and a personal construction, in which the subject appears with the dative case suffix (*maňa hi:ç za:t gerek dä:l* 'I don't need anything' < 1SG.DAT no thing need not).

The intentional suffix *-mAkçI/-mAkçI dä:l* communicates intention to perform some action in the near future, and sometimes takes desiderative modality. The suffix, like

the obligative, does not take personal markers (*men otur-makçy* 'I intend/plan to sit' < 1SG sit-*mAkçI*), but rather person/number values come from a free personal pronoun. It may take the past tense copula *-dI* plus possessive marker for expressing 'intended/wanted to' (*saňa hat ýaz-makçy-dy-m* 'I was going to write you a letter' < 2SG.DAT letter write-*mAkçI*-PST-1SG.POSS).

Desiderative modality expresses wants and desires, which are usually formed with the following construction: (possessive pronoun) + verbal noun with *-A(:)s* + possessive marker + *gelmek* 'to come'. For example, the sentence 'I want to see you' may be literally formulated as 'My wanting to see you comes' ((*men-iň*) *sen-i gör-es-im gel-ýä:r* 'I want to see you' < 1SG-GEN 2SG-ACC see-AS.NMLZ-1SG.POSS come-PRS.3SG). This construction is negated by negating *gelmek*. The verb *islemek* 'to desire' is also available, but is reserved for more formal registers (*iý-meg-i isle-ýä:r-in* 'I want to eat' < eat-INF-ACC desire-PRS-1SG.PERS).

Optative modality expresses hopes and wishes, often through the suffix *-A:ýAdI/-mA:ýAdI*, which takes possessive person markers (§3.2.2.2) (*sen-i kömek ed-ä:ýedi-m* 'I wish I could help you' < you-ACC help do-DSDR-1SG.POSS). Wishes and hopes may also be expressed using *umy:t* 'hope' in an existential construction (*ýagdaý-lar-yň gowy bol-jag-y-na umyd-ymyz ba:r* 'We hope you are in good health' < condition-PL-2SG.POSS good be-FUT.PRT-DAT hope-1PL.POSS exist) or with the auxiliary verb *etmek* 'to do' (*diý-ip umy:t ed-ýä:r-in* 'I hope that…' < say-CVB hope do-PRS-1SG.PERS).

3.2.3 Non-finite

Non-finite verbs in Turkmen include verbal nouns (infinitives, gerunds, and *-dIk* nominalized verbs), converbs (verbal adverbs), and participles. If they inflect, these take a restricted set of markers for tense-aspect, negation, and, infrequently, person and number.

3.2.3.1 Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns function like nominals in that they may take possessive and case markers, and may act as subjects, objects, or modifiers. These include infinitives, gerunds, and nominals created with *-dIk*. Of these, gerunds and nominals formed with *-dIk* are important in subordination (§4.4.2).

The infinitive suffix *-mAk*, which has a negated form *-mAzlIk*, is the citation form of a verb. It may take possessive suffixes (*bil-meg-imiz* 'our knowing' < know-INF-1PL.POSS). Infinitives may modify nouns when appearing with the genitive case marker (*işle-meg-iň yol-lar-y* 'ways to work' < work-INF-GEN road-PL-3.POSS). Adverbial constituents are created with infinitives through the dative case *-mA:gA* (*onuň ýaşa-mag-y-na juda köp mümki:nçilik ba:r* 'there are so many possibilities for his life' < 3SG.GEN live-INF-3SG.POSS-DAT excessive much possibility exist), locative case *-mAkdA* (*Olar a:damlara hüjüm etmekde*

aýyplanýa:rlar 'they are charged with assault' < 3PL person-PL-DAT harm do-INF-LOC charge-PRS.3PL), and postpositions like *üçi:n* 'for' (*hüjüm ed-en-ler-i jogapkä:rçilige çekmek üçi:n* 'in order to hold accountable those who attacked < harm do-PST.PRT-PL-ACC responsibility-DAT draw-INF for). In addition to case marking and postpositions, infinitives are used in several modal constructions (§3.2.2.5).

Gerunds in Turkmen differ from infinitives in that they describe processes, whereas infinitives describe generalized, indeterminate actions. Gerunds are formed from verb stems using suffixes *-mA*, *-(ý)Iş,* and *-A(:)s.* Suffixes *-mA* (no negated form) and *-(ý)Iş/mAýIş* both may take possessive and case markers, but while *-mA* is more often used to describe the process or result of a verb (*azar ber-me-si a:zal-ypdyr* 'hazing has been reduced' < suffering give-*mA*.NMLZ-3.POSS reduce-PRSM.PST), *-(ý)Iş/mAýIş* usually emphasizes the manner of a verb or the fact of its occurrence (*gara-ýyş* 'outlook, worldview' < look-*ýyş*.NMLZ). These may also be used as modifiers (*habar beriş serişdeler* 'mass media' < news giving media) and in combination with postpositions (*bil-ş-imiz-e görä:* 'according to our knowledge' < know-GER-1PL.POSS-DAT according). The suffix *-A(:)s* is only used in the desiderative mood (§3.2.2.5). *-mA* Gerunds taking accusative case (*-mA-nI*) are involved in constructions expressing enjoyment of some action, specifically with verbs *gowy görmek* (*işle-mä:ni gowy gör-ýä:r-in* 'I like working' < work-INF.ACC good see-PRS-1SG.PERS) or *halamak* (*bişir-mä:ni hala-ýa:r-yn* 'I enjoy cooking' < cook-INF.ACC enjoy-PRS-1SG.PERS). Complement taking predicates typically appear with gerunds with case markers,

and not with infinitives (*buz gaýmagy iý-me-ni halaýa:ryn* 'I like eating ice cream').

Finally, the subjunctor suffix-*dIk* (SBJR) attaches to verbal (N4, N18, N21) and nominal and adjectival stems (N4, S23) for the creation of complement clauses (§4.4.3). The resulting form usually appears with possessive person marking to indicate the subject argument of the predicate, and with case marking to indicate grammatical relationships (*watan-çy-dyg-y-ny belle-di* 'he noted his patriotism' < fatherland-ACT-SBJR-3.POSS-ACC note-PST.3SG ; *kineçil-dig-i* 'his being resentful' < resentful-SBJR-3.POSS). These appear infrequently in speech, but are used robustly in written Turkmen for clause combining and in the reporting of indirect speech.

3.2.3.2 Participles

Participles in Turkmen are verbally derived forms that are similar to verbal nouns in their nominal properties (e.g., as headless noun phrases), but differ in that they are most commonly used as modifiers and hence are often called 'verbal adjectives' - in essence, relative clauses that precede the head noun (§4.4.1). They differ from converbs in the sense that they have no adverbial functions and mark for tense. Participles are similar to thematic markers in that they indicate TAM, but differ in that they do not encode person or number information. There are four participial forms: past, present, future definite, and future indefinite. The past tense participial suffix *-An/-mAdIk* is more accurately regarded

as a postterminal marker and carries some semblance of indirectivity (§3.3.3.3) (N9, P22), while the present tense participal suffix *-ýA:n/-mAýA:n* is an intraterminal (N2, N16), indicating that an action is ongoing. The definite future *-jAk/-mAjAk* (N17) and indefinite future ('aorist) *-Ar/-mAz* (S4) localize some action in the future.

Participles, being modifiers of a head noun, may also appear as headless noun phrases, functioning as subjects, objects, and sometimes predicates of a sentence. They may take plural, possessive, and case marking (*gel-en-ler-i gör-me-dim* 'I didn't see those who came' < come-PST.PRT-PL-ACC see-NEG-PST.1SG; *eşit-jek-ler nirede?* 'where are the ones who will listen?' < listen-DEF.FUT.PRT-PL where). Another important function of participles is in their ability to take case marking for the creation of temporal adverbial clauses (§4.4.3).

3.2.3.3 Converbs

Converbs are syntactically subordinate verb forms that play a large role in Turkmen grammar, serving as the primary mechanism for linking clauses and expressing relationships between related verbal predicates. At least two predications are involved, the converb and the main/final verb, though more than one converb may be used. The converb lacks specification for person, tense, and number, though these are given on the main verb. The converb and main verb vary along a continuum of predication and actancy.

That is, the verbs may have the same subject or separate ones (actancy), and the action may be viewed as a single gestalt or as distinct actions (predication). These dimensions are reflected linguistically, with the least fused or lexicalized forms being orthographically, phonologically, and semantically fused (*äkelmek* 'bring' < *al-yp gelmek* < take-CVB come-INF), while the least lexicalized may appear with intervening material separating the converb and main verb (*olar telewizor sered-ip men iý-d-im* 'while they were watching television I ate' < 3PL television watch-CVB eat-PST-1SG).

The most important converb suffix is *-Ip/-mAn*, which covers sequentiality (*tur-up el ýüzüm ýuw-up mekdeb-e git-dim* 'I woke up, washed my hands and face, and went to school' < get.up-CVB hand face-1SG.POSS wash-CVB go-PST.1SG), simultaneity (*syr-yp aýdym aýt-ýa:r* 'he's shaving and singing' < shave-CVB song tell-PRS.3SG), relative anteriority (*okuw tamamla:-p uniwersited-e gi:r-ip-dir* 'having finishing school, he's entered university' < school complete-CVB university-DAT enter-PRSM.PST.3SG), and manner of action (*biz ýylgyr-yp ýo:k diý-ip aýt-dyk* 'Smiling, we said no' < 3PL smile-CVB no say-CVB say-PST.3PL). All of these use the same *-Ip/mAn* suffix, and distinguishing their precise semantics is resolved pragmatically. This same suffix also appears in a number of auxiliary formations (§3.2.2.4).

Another important converb suffix is the conditional *-sA/mAsA*, which attaches to a verb stem and takes possessive markers (*iç-se-m* 'if I drink' < drink-COND-1SG.POSS) for conditional clauses. Before such clauses, *eger* or *eger-de* may appear to indicate that the

clause is a conditional. Semantically, conditional clauses usually specify pure "if…then" hypotheticals (P25), but may also indicate a temporal condition (*jaň et-se-ler gideris* 'we'll go as soon as they call' < bell do-COND-3PL go-INDF.FUT). The conditional suffix can combine with the suffix of permission *-Aý* to form *-AýsA*, which hedges the conditional (*Eger öý-üm ot al-a:ý-sa, men hökümet-den jaý so:ra-mar-yn* 'I think if my house were to catch fire, I wouldn't ask the government for a room' < if house-1SG.POSS fire take-PERMISSION-COND.3SG 1SG government-ABL room ask-NEG.INDF.FUT-1SG.PERS).

The conditional suffix is involved in a number of other constructions. It may take the past tense marker *-dI* to create a counterfactual clause (*gel-se-d-iň* 'if you had come…' < come-COND-PAST-2SG.POSS), or particles *-dA* or *hem* for a concessive clause (N3, P20). Future conditionals may be created using a future participle (§3.2.3.2) and *bolmak* 'to be' with the conditional suffix (*sen gel-jek bol-sa-ň* 'if you're going to come' < 2SG come-FUT.PRT be-COND-2SG.POSS). *Bolsa* also often functions as a topicalizer (N18), though a conditional interpretation is still available (*agaň bolsa* 'as for your brother' or 'if your brother's there'). A construction involving the negated conditional suffix *-mAsA* combined with a negated form of the copula *bolmasa* is used to express resolve or promise of action (*komekleş-me-se-k bol-maz* 'We will have to help you' [lit. 'If we don't help, it won't be'] < help-NEG-COND-1PL.POSS be-NEG.INDF.FUT).

3.3 Indeclinable word classes

There are number of indeclinable word classes, none of which are able to robustly take morphology as nominals and verbals do.

3.3.1 Adverbs

Adverbs are an open class, though there are few pure (i.e. underived) adverbs. Most are either derived from nominals or are nominal forms used adverbially. However, though isomorphic with some nominals, they remain a distinct class since they do not occur within noun phrases. The exception to this are intensifying adverbials, which do appear in noun phrases.

3.3.1.1 Derivation

Adverbs can be derived from nominals through case endings and a few adverbializing suffixes. Temporal and manner adverbs may be created through use of the locative (C6, N15) and ablative cases, though the ablative more productively attaches to nominals and adverbs (P6; N18). Those formed with the dative case also form temporal (N21 *iki sagad-a*), manner (N16), and purposive adverbs (N20, N21).

Adverbializing suffixes include the equative *-çA,* which creates manner adverbs and is commonly found in giving opinions (*men-iň-çe* 'in my opinion' < 1SG-GEN-EQA) and naming a certain group's language (*ors-ça* 'in Russian, in the manner of a Russian' < Russian-EQA). The suffix *-lAý*(*In*) attaches to nominals for adverbs of degree and manner (N1). Distributive adverbs are created with suffixes *-lA:p* (*iki hepdelä:p* 'for two weeks'), and *-mA*, which normally appears on reduplicated words (*otagma-otag* 'room by room, room to room'). Finally, directional adverbs may be created through suffixes *-ArI* (*daş-ary* 'to the outside' < outer-*ArI*) and *-Ik* (*ýokar-yk* 'upward' < upward-*Ik*. The associative suffix *-lI*, which can create adjectives from nouns (§3.1.2.1), may also be used to create manner adverbs (*uçar-ly* 'by plane' < plane-ASSO).

3.3.1.2 Semantic groups

Temporal adverbs set the time for some action and often appear as the first or second constituent in a sentence. Most of these function as nouns in addition to adverbs (e.g., *öýlä:n* may be 'afternoon' or 'in the afternoon'). These include terms for time of day (*ir* 'early', *irden* 'in the morning', *daňdan* 'very early', *günorta:n* 'at noontime'*, öýlä:n* 'in the afternoon', *gündiz* 'in the day(time)', *giç* 'late', *gije* 'at night(time)', *agşam* 'in the evening', *ýa:rym gije* 'at midnight'), day-long intervals (*şu/bu: gün* 'today'; *düýn* 'yesterday'; *erti:r, erte* 'tomorrow'; *bi:rigün* 'day after tomorrow'; *öňňi:n* 'the other day'), and longer intervals of

time (*geçen hepde* 'last week', *bu: a:ý* 'this month', *indiki ýyl* 'next year'). Many of these combine with one another for greater or lesser specificity (*erti:r irden* 'tomorrow morning', *ir öýlä:n* 'early afternoon', *şu: günler* 'nowadays' (N3, N8), *gi:je-gündi:z* 'night and day').

Closely related to these are temporal adverbs that do not reference units of time, including adverbs of frequency (*hemişe* 'always', *hi:ç haçan* 'never', *kä:wagt* 'sometimes', *kä:wagt* [kæ::wɑɣt] 'rarely', *köplenç* 'usually', *myda:ma* 'constantly'); duration (*gaýtadan, tä:zeden, ýenede* 'anew, again', *eýýä:m* 'already', *entek* (C53), *heni:z* 'still', *köp wagtdan, köp/uzak wagtla:p* 'for a long time', *aradan* 'meanwhile', *derrew* 'immediately'); and sequence (*öňden, bireýýä:m* 'long ago', *öň, ozal* 'before, earlier', *ýaňy, ýaňja* 'just now', *indi, şu: wagt, hä:zir* 'now, presently', *soň, onsoň,* (*ş*)*ondan soň* 'then, after that' (C52, C55), (*ş*)*ol wagt*(*lar*) 'at that time', *soňra, soňyra:k* 'later on, afterwards', *iň soňunda, ahyry* 'finally').

Place and direction adverbs involve either the locative *-dA*, ablative *-dAn*, or allative *-Ik* case, and commonly also make use of proximal *bu:/şu:* and medial *o*(*:l*)*/şo*(*:l*) demonstratives. The same basic stems specifying the deictic center are used with each case, the difference being a specification for location (*bu: ýerde, bä:rde* 'here'), place of departure (*bu: ýerden, bä:rden* 'from here'), and direction (*bu: ýerik, bä:rik* 'hither'). The stems used most commonly include *ýer, ta:ý* 'place', *bä:r-* 'here, *aňyr-* 'there', *nire* 'where', *ýokar-* 'above', *iç-* 'inside' (P23), *daş-* 'outside' (P24), and *aşak* 'below'.

Adverbs of degree include intensifiers (*örä:n, gaty, ýaman, iňňä:n* 'very'), indefinite quantifiers (*köp, kä:n* 'much' (C40, C55); *a:z* 'little'; *bira:z, a:zajyk* 'a little bit, somewhat');

delimiters (*tas* 'nearly, almost, hardly'; *büti:nleýin, tüköl* 'entirely'); and deictic adverbs (*beýle, şeýle* 'so, such' (N20, S2, S5, S9, S18); *monça* 'so much').

Manner adverbs are productively created through derivation affixes described above and also through unaffixed nominals (*tiz, derrew, çalt* 'quickly, instantly'; *bile* 'together'; *aňsat* 'easily'; *gowy, oňat* 'well, good'; *erbet, ýaman* 'badly, poorly, terribly').

3.3.2 Postpositions

Postpositions in Turkmen specify interclausal and intersentential relationships, but also positional configurations. They typically appear after nouns and pronouns, but some follow adjectives, participles and verbal nouns as well. Most are unable to take stress. Only the most common postpositions are reported here, classified by the case they require.

Postpositions used with nominative case include *üçi:n* 'for, in order to', *bile*(*n*) 'with, and', *ýa:ly* 'like, as if', *sebä:pli* 'because of', *ba:rada, hakda, hakynda* 'about', *boýunça* 'according to', *bara* TOPICALIZER, and *tarapyndan* 'by' (in passive construction §3.2.1). When pronouns appear with these postpositions, however, they must appear in the genitive case, not nominative (*onuň ýa:ly* 'like her'). The postposition *bile*(*n*) 'with' may have comitative (§4.3), instrumental (N17), or adverbial (*Putiniň prezidentlik wezipesine gaýdyp gelmegi bilen* 'with Putin returning to the office of the presidency') readings. Postposition *üçi:n* appears in benefactive, purposive (*ýapmak üçi:n* 'in order to close'), and

'because' phrases. The postposition *ýa:ly* 'like, as if' can appear after nominals (S7) and verbal nouns (S11, N13), and the resulting postpositional phrases may predicate (S11), form headless noun phrases (S11, S17), or function as modifiers within noun phrases (S7).

Dative case is used with the following postpositions: *görä:* 'according to' (N4, N8, N20); *garamazdan* 'although, despite' (N4, N21); *ýaky:n, golaý* 'near, close'; *garanda, görä:* 'in comparison to'; *baka:* 'towards'; *garşy* 'against'; *çenli* 'until, up to'; *derek* 'instead of' (N18); and *meňzeş* 'same as'.

Ablative case is used with the following postpositions: *aňry, aňry:k* 'on the far side of, beyond', *başga, gaýry, ö:zge* 'aside, except', *soň* 'after' (S21), *bä:ri* 'since', *öň, owal, ozal* 'before, prior, in front of', *gowrak* 'better than, more than' (C34). Of particular interest are *öň* 'before' and *soň* 'after', which routinely suffix onto participles to create temporal adverbial clauses (§4.4.3) (N21).

Turkmen shows a range of positional postpositions that may take dative, ablative, or locative case. These usually require the preceding noun to be in genitive or, more infrequently, nominative case. Such postpositions include *iç* 'inside' (P23), *daş* 'outside' (P24), *ara* 'among' (S23), *üst* 'top' (S6), *aşak* 'under' (*jaý-yň aşag-y-na* 'to under the building' < building-GEN under-3.POSS-DAT), *arka* 'back' (*mekeb-iň arka-sy-ndan* 'from behind the school' < school-GEN back-3.POSS-ABL), *bara* 'about', *töwerek* 'surroundings' (S19, S20), *aňry* 'far side', *tarap* 'side', and *öň* 'before'.

3.3.3 Modals and particles

Modals and particles in Turkmen are forms that structure the discourse in relation to itself (textual markers), indicate the speaker's relationship to the text and/or to the listener (epistemic markers), or indicate the speaker's awareness and perception of some information (indirective markers). Modals are formally distinguished from particles in that modals are phonologically independent words, while particles are cliticized onto some other syntactic constituent, receiving no stress themselves and largely conforming to vowel harmony of the host. The precise clitic-like behavior of these properties deserves further research.

3.3.3.1 Textual markers

Textual markers are the modals and particles that structure the discourse in relation to itself, overtly specifying the relationship between various parts of the propositions within the text. This function overlaps considerably with a number of postpositions like *sebä:pli* 'because' and *boýunça* 'according to' (§3.3.2), and with conjunctions (§4.3).

Textual markers include words that summarize like *garaz* 'in a word, basically' or *umu:man* 'generally' (N19, P28), and those that paraphrase like *diýmek* and *ýagny* 'that is, meaning' (*bu: hepde, ýagny 26-31-nji awgust* 'this week, meaning August 26-31st'). Discourse

connectives indicate or imply causal relationships, for example *onda* 'then', *şonuň üçi:n* 'because of this'*, ondan soň* 'and then after this' (C52, C55), *şeýlede, şeýdiýibem, şeýlelikde, şeýlelik bilen* 'therefore, as such, as a result' (N17, S13), and *çünki, sebä:bi* 'the reason being, because'. Especially pervasive, in both written and spoken Turkmen, are discourse connecting particles *hem*(*-de*), which often shortens and undergoes vowel harmony as *-Am* (N8, C32, C33, C38, C46), and the focus particle *-dA* 'and, also, even, just, though, still' (N11, N18, C40, C43, C53, P4, P5, P20, S12, S17). Other modals function to mitigate, concede, or contrast propositions in the discourse: *weli*(*n*) 'still, yet, though, nevertheless' (C2, C55, C58, P21); *emma:, eýsem, ýö:ne* 'but, however' (N11, N14, P25); *ahyry* 'finally, after all'; *şeýlede bolsa*(*-da*) 'anyway'.

3.3.3.2 Epistemic markers

Epistemic markers modulate the stance of the speaker relative to their proposition and how committed they are to its truth, which is necessarily a social action as well, since the relative authority to assert propositions depends on the interlocutor.

Certainty may be expressed through modals *elbetde* 'of course, certainly', *dogry* 'true, truly' (*Dogry, bazar-da kak, sök ýa:ly önüm-ler ba:r* 'True, products like kak and sok can be found at the bazaar' < true bazaar-LOC kak sok like product-PL exist), which are typically found utterance-initially, or *hökma:n, gerek* 'definitely' (*hökma:n tap-ar-syň* 'you'll

find it for sure' < definitely find-INDF.FUT-2SG.PERS). The particle *-dA:* attaches to predicates and often has a reading of 'just, really' (*şu: wagt i:ş-im köp-dä:* 'I really just have a lot of work now' < this time work-1SG.POSS much-*dA:*). Similarly, the affirmative particle *-dIr/dä:ldir* functions to emphasize or confirm some proposition. It attaches to predicates in general, not just verb stems, and takes personal markers (§3.2.2.2) (*akylly oglan-dyr* 'he sure is a smart guy' < smart boy-*dIr; bu: meniňki dä:l-dir* 'this is not mine' < this mine not-*dIr*). This same particle forms a part of numerous thematic markers that convey presumption or affirmation of some statement (§3.2.2.1).

Less certainty can be conveyed through the modal *belki* 'possibly, maybe', which normally appears clause-initially or parenthetically (*Belki--de men siz-iň hemmä:-ňiz-i haýran ga:l-dyr-ar-yn* 'Maybe I'll even surprise you all' < maybe-FOC 1SG 2PL-GEN all-2PL.POSS-ACC marvel stay-CAUS-INDF.FUT-1SG.PERS), and also through modals *mümki:n* 'possibly, maybe', *ä:htima:l* and *çemeli* 'probable, likely', which tend to appear as predicate adverbs (*ABŞ--nyň dünýä:-niň iň güýç-li döwlet-ler-i-niň bir-i bol-up ga:l-mag-y ä:htimal* 'It's likely the US will remain one of the world's most powerful nations' < USA-GEN world-GEN power-ASSO nation-PL-3.POSS-GEN one-3.POSS be-CVB stay-INF-3.POSS likely). The modal *mümki:n* may combine with infinitives to express permission or possibility (*bu: problema-ny çöz-mek mümki:n-mi?* 'is it possible to resolve this problem? < this problem-ACC resolve-INF possible-Q). Related to these are particles that attach to predicates, including *-Aý*, which can express slight mirativity (C23), and the emphatic particle *-dA:*,

which usually functions to elicit a backchannel (C50, C53, C60). The particle *-lA* 'anyway, really' attaches to predicates and generally functions to mitigate some proposition (C41) (*ol ýaman ýaş-dyr-la* 'she really is too young actually' < 3SG terribly young-AFRM-*lA*). This same *-lA* particle may attach to directives (§3.2.2.3) to moderate the force of the command.

The least certainty is conveyed in questions. This is primarily done through interrogative adverbs (§3.1.3.2) for content questions, or through the question particle *-mI* for polar questions (C21, C24) and alternative questions. Its unmarked position is on the predicate (*Oraz gel-di-mi?* 'Did Oraz come? < O come-PST.3SG-Q), but it may appear on a non-predicate constituent for a focused reading (*Oraz-my gel-di?* 'Was it Oraz that came?' < O-Q come-PST.3SG). It may appear on multiple constituents in the same clause for alternative questions (*bu: gün-mi ertir-mi* 'today or tomorrow?' < this day-Q tomorrow-Q). Questions may be further modulated to express wonder through the particle *-kA:* (*gelermikä:* 'I wonder if he'll come'). A non-interrogative use of *-mI* includes its use as a general extender 'or something (like that)', for which it attaches to some nominal and then to *nä:me* 'what' (*altysynamy nä:memi* 'the sixth or something').

3.3.3.3 Indirective markers

Like other Turkic languages, Turkmen can express a type of evidentiality called 'indirectivity' through modals and particles, in addition to a number of 'presumptive'

thematic suffixes noted above (§3.2.2.1). These forms are called 'indirectives' insofar as they present information indirectly by reference to a speaker's conscious reception of it. What is criterial is the degree to which some information has been integrated into one's worldview, thus they comment on an utterance and index awareness or knowledge of that information (Johanson 2000b). Though indirectives do not strictly communicate the 'source of information' as with evidentiality in many other languages (indeed, the provenance of the information is relatively immaterial), they do in effect correspond to a speaker's perception of an event as reported, inferred, or perceived, and would translate as adsententials *obviously, reportedly, they say, evidently, apparently, it seems/appears/turns out,* and so on. The suffix *-mIş* contrasts with the past tense suffix *-dI*, which can be said to present a proposition directly and without reference to the speaker's cognition.

Turkmen indirectives include the inferential particle *-mIş* (no negative form) and mirative-like modal word *eken/dä:l eken*. The indirective particle *-mIş*, like the past tense suffix *-dI*, may attach to a variety of nominal and verbal predicates, although it is usually found with verbal stems. The usage of this particle implies that the speaker has inferred or has been informed of some information, suggesting non-firsthand information of a 'reportedly, they say' type (*git-meli-miş-in* 'he apparently has to go' < go-OBLG-IND.EVID-3SG). The particle's overtone of inference is reflected in the reduplicated noun *myşmyş* 'rumor' (*myşmyş-yň ba:r-my?* 'got any gossip?' < rumor-2SG.POSS exist-Q). The indirective modal *eken/dä:l eken,* on the other hand, implies that the speaker has recognized and become

aware of some information in a more firsthand manner (*Türkiýä:-niň kesel-hana-lar-y nä:hili eken-i?* 'How do you find Turkey's hospitals?' < Turkey-GEN sickness-PLACE.FOR-PL-3.POSS how *eken*-3PL). These two indirectives take person marking, though with non-standard paradigms (3.2.2.2).

Fillers and hedges, which perform interactional and intersubjective work, include *neme* 'uh' (C47), *nemede* 'uhm', *hany, aý* 'well' (C5), and *welin* 'though, then' (C2). Question tag *hä:* 'yeah?' or the phrase *dogry dä:lmi* 'right?' (C43) are regularly found at the end of utterances to seek affirmation or confirmation of the utterance's proposition, or to seek alignment with the recipient.

3.3.4 Interjections

Interjections are uninflectable words or phrases that may stand as their own pragmatically complete utterance, though many are commonly found introducing or completing an utterance. Many, given their non-lexical status, are given here phonetically.

Interjections include words for 'yes' (*hawa, hä:,* [haá], [how], [owá]), 'no' (*ýo:k*, [haʔa]), and 'okay, yeah' (*bor, bolýa:r*). Deictic interjections such as *ine,* [mɛ], *ine, ynha:* 'here'; *ana* 'there'; and [hanha] 'over there' often accompany pointing to physical referents or involve the handling of objects. For getting someone's attention, the word [how] 'hey!' may used by itself or attached to the end of a name. Phonosemantic interjections exist for

quieting people or animals [ʃː, tʃyʃ, tʃː], and for getting the attention of or shooing away of cats [pʃː pʃː].

Many interjections that display affect involve the segment [w]. The most generalized form of this interjection is [waj, wajʔ, waj aj], and is used to punctuate emotion in many situations. More specific affective interjections include those for surprise [wiː, wax, baj boːw], pain [wiː, wæk, wæklɛː, uːf, wækɛːj], disgust [pæːx], sympathy [wax wahɛj], and pleasure from food [hɯm].

4. Syntax

4.1 Noun phrase

Noun phrases in Turkmen may take case marking, plural marking, and focus particle *-dA,* in that order. They may be headed (by noun or pronoun) or headless. The elements that may appear within a headed noun phrase include demonstratives (N7) (§3.1.3.2), genitives (N8, N18) (§3.1.1.5), reflexive pronoun (S19) (§3.1.3.3), lexical quantifiers (N14) (§3.1.4.2), numerals (N16) (§3.1.4.1), relative/participial clauses (N18) (§3.2.3.2, §4.4.1), postpositional phrases (S7, N22), adjectives (N21, P32), and the head noun itself. Of these elements, demonstratives and genitives tend to appear first in the noun phrase and stand in

complementary distribution. Genitives are especially numerous in written Turkmen, often appearing in two or three levels of embedding (N2, N7, N9).

In general, all these elements appear before the head noun, roughly in the order given above, though some flexibility is permitted. The following complex combinations are attested in the texts: NUM ADJ N (N18), ADJ NUM N (C48), PRT.PHRASE DEM N (S2), GEN PRT.PHRASE N (N2, N11), PRT.PHRASE GEN N (N18), GEN QUANT N (N6, N17), GEN ADJ ADJ N (N8), GEN NUM N (N9, N21), QUANT ADJ N (N14), PRT.PHRASE NUM ADJ N (N16), GEN ADV NUM ADJ N (N21).

By contrast, noun phrases headed by pronouns may only take lexical quantifiers (*onuň köpüsi* 'most of it' < 3SG.GEN much-3.POSS) and numerals (*biz-iň bä:şimiz* 'the five of us' < 1PL-GEN 5-3PL.POSS), which appear after the pronoun. All of these elements, including the head noun, are optional, since noun phrases may be headless, consisting of only, e.g., an adjective (*gyzyl-lar* 'the red ones' < red-PL), in which case they imply an indefinite referent. Postpositional phrases may not stand on their own as headless noun phrases (**meniň bilenler* 'those with me', but rather *men-iň ýan-ym-da:ky adam-lar* 'those people who are with me' < 1SG-GEN side-1SG.POSS-AFIL man-PL), and genitives must take the relation suffix *-KI* in order to do so (*men-iň-ki-ler* 'the things of mine' < 1SG-GEN-REL-PL).

4.2 Constituent order

The “canonical” order in Turkmen is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV). That is, syntactic subjects (S), patients (P), and recipients (R) all tend to precede the verb. These preferences result in the following orders: SV for intransitives, SPV for transitives, and SRPV for ditransitives. Core arguments, however, are often not given overtly when relatively unimportant for the present or imminent discourse, or if they are easily recoverable or discourse-active.

Other permutations of constituent order are possible, of course, and these largely depend on discourse-pragmatic contingencies. Post-predicate elements, for example, while not strictly permitted from a prescriptive point of view, are prevalent in conversation. In my data, the material appearing after a predicate is commonly a core argument noun phrase (C24), some element of a noun phrase, or adverbial material like a converbal (C42) or postpositional phrase.

Phonologically, post-predicate elements appear either in the same intonational contour as the preceding material, or in a separate intonation unit. That is, the “right-dislocated” material may be produced under a single prosodic utterance along with the preceding material, or it may appear separately, resulting in two intonation units (one with the predicate, the other containing the post-predicate material). This prosodic distinction can explain much of their discourse and interactional functions. Production of the post-predicate element and pre-predicate material together in a single intonation unit often manages a referent’s information status. Specifically, doing so may resolve the

identity of an unclear or discourse-inactive referent (C60), reactivate the referent, or, conversely, background the referent (C24).

By contrast, post-predicate elements appearing in their own intonational contour often have interactional, not informational, functions. That is, these typically orient to the structure and organization of conversation itself, not necessarily the propositional or informational content of the turns. For example, in normal conversation, after a speaker has completed their turn, the recipient may take the floor. However, if the recipient hesitates, then a gap between turns is perceptible. This conversational hiccup may prompt the first speaker to provide, e.g., some adverbial material (which is not required by the verb) that is pragmatically congruent with their previous utterance. The motivation behind producing a post-predicate element in this way is presumably to furnish another chance for the recipient to take the floor (a so-called 'transition-relevance place'). Another interactional function of post-predicate elements is using *nä:me* 'what' as a placekeeper for repairing an unproduced element of the turn. That is, during production, a speaker may not be able to locate some lexical item. In such an event, the placekeeper *nä:me* may be given *in situ* at the syntactic position where the constituent would appear normally, only to be "filled in" after completion of the utterance-in-progress, thus resulting in a post-predicate element.

4.3 Coordination

Coordination in Turkmen is possible among noun phrases, among the elements within noun phrases, and among verb phrases, all of which use the same basic coordinators, which include conjunctions of Perso-Arabic origin (via Chaghatay) *we, hem*(*-de*) 'and', and *emma:, ýö:ne* 'but', and conjunctions of Turkic origin like the enclitic *-dA* FOC (which also functions as the disjunctor 'or') and comitative postposition *bile*(*n*) 'and, with'.

Coordination at the noun phrase level creates complex noun phrases with more than one head, the case marking for which usually appears on the final head (*Maral we Myradyñ kaka-sy* 'Maral and Myrat's father'), though marking on both heads is not ungrammatical (N11). Coordination of noun phrases may involve *hem*(*-de*) (N9), its shortened form *-Am* (P16-19), postposition *bile*(*n*) or conjunction *we* (*oglan bilen/we gyz* 'the boy and the girl'). Usage of *-dA* is more restricted for coordinating noun phrases, appearing more commonly with verbal nouns (N20, P4-5), in lists (*1-dA, 2-dA, we/hem-de 3* '1, 2, and 3), and in the construction meaning 'whether… or', for which *-dA* appears on each constituent (N11). Other such constructions exist where a particle appears with more than one of the coordinated constituents, for example *hem X … hem Y* 'both X and Y' (P10-11), *ne X ne Y* 'neither X nor Y', *kä:*(*te*) *X kä:*(*te*) *Y* 'sometimes X sometimes Y', and *ýa:*(*-da*) *X ýa:*(*-da*) *Y* 'either X or Y'.

Coordination within noun phrases may use these same conjunctions (more prevalently *hem*(*-de*) and *we*), though it is more typical to simply leave them out (P32).

Within the noun phrase, adjectives and participial constructions may be coordinated (*süýji hem-de bişen kökeler* 'delicious and baked cookies'), though, again, it is more common to see this without the conjunction.

Though syndetic coordination with *we* is possible (N8, N19), Turkmen largely prefers verb phrase coordination through the converb suffix *-Ip* (S17, C14, N15). Semantically, the coordinated verb phrases are usually interpreted as consecutive actions, though a disjunctive reading is possible, as are a number of aspecto-temporal interpretations (e.g., simultaneity, anteriority, etc. (§3.2.3.3, §4.4.3)), which are resolved pragmatically. Clause level coordination is also possible asyndetically and through use of *-dA* FOC (S17).

Adversative coordination may be accomplished with *ýö:ne* or *emma:* 'but' (N11, N14, P25), though the modal word *weli*(*n*) is common as well. *Weli*(*n*) does not necessarily imply strict disjunction, but rather imples some contrast such that the juxtaposed utterances share a slightly unexpected relationship (C2-3, C55-57, C58-59, P21). It may combine with the just-mentioned conjunctions for *ýö:ne weli*(*n*) and *emma: weli*(*n*) 'but still, however, nonetheless, then again'.

4.4 Dependent clauses

Dependent clauses are are grammatically dependent on a matrix clause and include relative, complement, and adverbial clauses. Broadly, relative clauses modify head nouns; complement clauses function as noun phrase arguments; and adverbial clauses modify other clauses. Adverbial clauses typically involve non-finite forms and/or postpositions, and syntactically they tend to precede the matrix verb, though adverbial and complement quotative clauses often appear in the post-predicate region in conversation (§4.2).

4.4.1 Relativization

Relative clauses in Turkmen are pre-head modifiers centered around participial forms (§3.2.3.2) that inflect for tense/aspect but contain no information about person or number. As mentioned above, participial phrases need not occur with a head, in which case they can imply an indefinite head noun (*gel-en-ler* 'the ones who came' < come-PST.PRT-PL) or simply an unspecified one, which may be active in the discourse already. Both headed and headless participial phrases may take plural and possessive suffixes in addition to case marking in accordance with their grammatical relationship to the matrix verb. Headed relative clauses consist of at least a participial form appearing before the head noun (S4), but they may be more complex depending on the valence of that participle (§3.2.1 for diathetic suffixes) or the presence of any adverbials.

Participant reference is relatively inexplicit in Turkmen morphosyntactically speaking; the relationship of the modifying clause to the head noun is resolved pragmatically. In the absence of person marking, the subject/agent argument of the participle is typically the discourse active topic (S4: *gar* 'snow'), or an impersonal subject (*iý-en za:t* 'the thing [someone has] eaten' < eat-PST.PRT thing).

More explicit marking of participant identities, however, is available through possessive person markers (§3.2.2.2), which may appear on the participial argument or on the head noun itself. When it appears on a participial argument, the head noun is the interpreted as the possessor of that argument. In (S21), for example, *kellesi göçen awçy* 'the hunter who has lost his mind' may be literally formulated as 'his-head-gone hunter'. Here, the head noun (*awçy* 'hunter') is interpeted as the possessor of the argument of the participle, *kelle-si* 'his head' (< head-3.poss).

Possessive person marking may also appear on the head noun itself to index the subject/agent of the participle (*bişir-en nahar-ym* 'the food that I cooked' < cook-PST-PRT food-1SG.POSS). In this case, the subject/agent often appears in genitive case before the participial clause (N11). The same pattern of a head noun's possessive marker being coreferential with the subject of the relative clause is not common cross-linguistically, but is attested in other Turkic languages like Uyghur and Karachay-Balkar (Csato and Muzappar 2010).

Other formal means of identifying a referent is possible when the verb stem contains either the passive or causative diathetic suffix. With participles involving a passive verb stem, the agent may be indicated in a postpositional phrase using *tarapyndan* 'by' (§3.3.2), for which pronouns appear in genitive case, otherwise the agent appears in nominative case (*iş-çi-ler-iň tarap-y-ndan süpür-ül-jek köçe* 'the street that will be swept by the workers' < work-ACT-PL-GEN side-3.POSS-ABL sweep-PASS-FUT.PRT street). Participles with causative verb stems can indicate the agent with dative case (*siz-iň maňa ýuw-dyr-an jinsi-ňyz* 'the jeans you made me wash' < 2PL-GEN 1SG.DAT wash-CAUS-PST.PRT jeans-2PL.POSS). Both of these patterns with the passive and causative are the same as in finite clauses (i.e., this marking for indicating participant identities is not restricted to relative clauses).

4.4.2 Complementation

Nominalized complement clauses are based on verbal nouns, participles, or nominal forms, and may serve as a noun phrase complement of a postposition or as an argument of a verb (though it does not appear that such clauses may act as subject arguments). They can take the plural suffix, possessive person markers, case marking and postpositions. The plural suffix *-lAr* and person markers (§3.2.2.2) coreference the grammatical subject of the predicate, and the case marking or postpositions indicate the whole clause's relationship

to the matrix verb. Reproduced below is (N21)[7], which displays a range of complementation patterns to be discussed. The sentence is divided up roughly by clause, though mostly for ease of reading - that is, they are not necessarily divided by any syntactic principle.

1 *Hepdä:-niň tutuş bir okuw gün-i hünä:r öwreniş* ***sapak-lar-y*** *indi gysgald-yl-yp,*
week-GEN whole 1 school day-3.poss trade training lesson next shorten-PASS-CVB
'The once-per-week trade labor classes have since been shortened,'

2 ***olar-yň*** *iki sagad-a getir-il-en-dig-i-ne garamazdan,*
3PL.GEN 2 hour-DAT bring-PASS-PST.PRT-SBJR-3.POSS-DAT regardless
'but regardless of their/them being shortened to two hours,'

3 ***okuw-çy-lar*** *esa:sy okuw-lar-y-ndan soň ýowar bahana-sy bilen ýene i:şlemä:g-e çagyr-yl-ýa:n-dyk-lar-y-ny,*
school-ACT-PL basic school-PL-3.POSS-ABL after assistance-3.POSS reason with again work-INF-DAT summon-PASS-PRS.PRT-SBJR-PL-3.POSS-ACC
'they say that students are being summoned to work after school under the pretense of "helping out",'

4 [*eger ýüz öwür-se-ler* ***okuw baha-lar-y-ny*** *pes-el-jek-dik-ler-i-ni aýd-yp,*] ***mugallym-lar-yň*** *haýbat at-ýa:n-dyk-lar-y-ny*
if face turn-COND-3PL.PERS school grade-PL-3.POSS-ACC lower-PASS-FUT.PRT-SBJR-PL-3.POSS-ACC say-CVB teacher-PL-GEN threat throw-PRS.PRT-SBJR-PL-3.POSS-ACC
'and that the teachers threaten them, [saying their grades will suffer if they refuse.]'

5 *aýd-ýa:r-lar.*
say-PRS-3PL.PERS

The structure of this sentence is two clauses at its highest level: one converb clause (line 1) coordinated with a finite clause (lines 2-5), which will be the focus of this section. These

[7] Notation for (N21): finite verb with thick underline, converb with double underline, verbal noun of complement clause with single underline; **grammatical subjects** in bold; and [embedded converb clause in brackets]

lines (2-5) begin with a concessive postpositional phrase 'regardless of' (line 2), whose complement is a complement clause in dative case ('their <u>being shortened</u> to two hours'). The following three lines (3-5) culminate in the matrix verb '<u>they say</u>' (line 5), which takes two arguments in the form of complement clauses: 'that students <u>are being summoned</u>' (line 3) and 'that teachers <u>threaten</u>' (line 4). Both of these appear with accusative case marking on the verbal noun, indicating their status as arguments of '<u>they say</u>'. This second complement clause (lines 4) contains an embedded converbal clause ('<u>saying</u>'), whose complement itself is a complement clause in accusative case ('that their grades <u>will suffer</u>') with an embedded converb clause ('<u>if they refuse</u>').

Grammatical marking of referent identities (especially for human referents) is explicit on the verb, appearing as person marking that reflects person and number information. We observe that the two animate subjects ***okuwçylar*** 'students' (line 3) and ***mugllymlaryň*** 'teachers' (line 4), for example, are both indexed with regard to their number on their respective verbs, <u>*çagyr-yl-ýa:n-dyk-lar-y-ny*</u> and <u>*at-ýa:n-dyk-lar-y-ny*</u>, which appear with the plural suffix *-lAr*. This pattern of agreement for animates seems robust, though more discourse-level investigation is needed. For example, in line 4, the subject of the embedded complement clause ***okuw bahalaryny*** 'their grades' is inanimate, but its referenced on the verb <u>*pes-el-jek-dik-ler-i-ni*</u> with the plural marker *-lAr*.

Furthermore, the grammatical subject of a complement clause may semantically be the agent or patient argument of the verbal noun, depending on the voice of the verbal

noun. The verbal nouns in lines 2-3 have the passive suffix *-Il* (§3.2.1), while those in 4 do not. Moreover, the subject of these clauses may appear either in nominative case (*okuwçylar*, *okuw bahalaryny*) or genitive case (*olaryň, mugallymlaryň*). Note that the presence or absence of the genitive case marker *-(n)Iň* does not indicate grammatical relations. Rather, the difference between nominative and genitive case marking on a subject is one of specificity.

This example also displays one pervasive method for creating a complement clause, namely the nominalizing subjunctor suffix *-dIk*, which roughly corresponds to English complementizer 'that'. The morphological glossing above shows how *-dIk* may attach to participles (§3.2.3.2), but it may also attach to nominals, which gives a copular reading. For example in (N4), the subjunctor suffix *-dIk* attaches to the adjective *gadagan* 'forbidden' in the postpositional phrase *çaga zä:hmet-i-niň gadagan-dyg-y-na garamazdan* 'despite child labor being forbidden' (< child labor-3.POSS-GEN forbidden-SBJR-3.POSS-DAT although). The resulting form may take the plural suffix *-lAr*, possessive person markers, which index the number and person information of the subject of the embedded clause, and case markers, which indicate the relationship of the embedded clause to the matrix verb. Any verbal arguments and adjuncts appear to the left of this verbal form.

In addition to *-dIk*, other nominalizing suffixes are available for subordination. The subjunctor suffix *-lIk*, for example, functions much in the same way as *-dIk*, the difference being that *-dIk* emphasizes a verbal character of the resulting form, while *-lIk*

emphasizes a more nominal character. To use the previous example, the difference between *çaga zä:hmet-i-niň gadagan-**dyg**-y-na garamazdan* and *çaga zä:hmet-i-niň gadagan-**lyg**-y-na garamazdan* would be the difference between 'despite child labor being forbidden' and 'despite the forbiddenness of child labor'. Verbal noun suffixes *-mAk, -mA* and *-Iş* function similarly to subjunctors *-dIk* and *-lIk*, taking many of the same suffixes and seemingly operating in similar grammatical contexts. The precise combinatorial and distributional features of the verbal noun suffixes versus the subjunctor suffixes, however, remains to be determined.

4.4.2.1 Quotatives

Quotation involves a range of complementation strategies, depending on whether the reporting of speech/thoughts is direct or indirect. The distinction between the two is that in direct speech, the deictic referents are unchanged, whereas in indirect speech the deictic center is the speaker. Direct reporting is massively preferred in spoken Turkmen while indirect reporting predominates in writing.

The most straightforward strategy for reporting speech directly is through *diýmek* 'to say' (C14, C17, C22), which typically appears utterance-finally with finite verbal morphology. In such constructions, the quoted material remains intact: the quote takes no morphology and referential deixis is unchanged. While verb-finality is the unmarked

constituent order, a quote may be introduced with *diýmek* 'to say' (C5, C16), and, commonly in narrative, a pronoun plus *hem* 'also, too' (C18, C20).

Another common method to directly report speech is through the converbal form of the verb of speech *diýip* 'saying/having said'. As a converb, *diýip* may be variably integrated into the syntax and semantics of the matrix verb (§3.2.3.3), but essentially functions to set off the quoted material from the matrix verb (C17, N7, N11). Turkmen has not, however, grammaticized a relativizing function with *diýip*. Other verbs of speech like *so:rap* 'asking/having asked' (C14) are used similarly.

The predominant method for indirect reporting of speech involves the subjunctor morpheme *-dIk* (§4.4.2). A typical example of this may be seen in (N14), reproduced below with modifications.

1	*Ýö:ne*	*kä:bir*	*mekdep*	*okuw-çy-lar-y*		
	but	some	school	school-ACTOR-PL-3.POSS		
2	*ö:z-ler-i-niň*	*ol*	*sapak-lar-da*	*başga*	*iş-ler-de*	
	self-PL-3.POSS-GEN	those	lesson-PL-LOC	other	work-PL-LOC	
3	*işle-d-il-ýä:n-dik-ler-i-ni*			***aýd-ýa:r-lar***.		
	work-CAUS-PASS-PRS.PRT-SBJR-PL-3.POSS-ACC			tell-PRS.3PL		
	'But some students say that in those classes they are made to do other work as well.'					

Here, there are two predications: a matrix and an embedded clause. The matrix clause is fairly straightforward: the finite verb form *aýd-ýa:r-lar* 'they say' has a subject argument *kä:bir mekdep okuw-çy-lary* 'some students'. These matrix forms are interrupted, however,

by the embedded clause, underlined above (lines 2-3). The embedded predication involves the verbal noun form *i:şle-d-il-ýä:n-dik-ler-i-ni* 'that they are made to work', and its subject argument *ö:zleriniň* 'they/their selves'. Following the stem of the verbal noun (*işledil-* 'being made to work') is a present tense participial suffix *-ýA:n* (§3.2.3.2), and the subjunctor *-dIk*, which signals the dependent status of the embedded clause. The subjunctor suffix is followed by agreement markers *-ler* PL and *-i* 3.POSS, which indicate that the subject of the complement clause is 3PL. This verbal noun takes accusative case *-ni*, indicating that the embedded clause is a grammatical object of the matrix verb.

As a comparison, were the above example produced with direct reporting, it would be glossed as, 'But some students say, "In those classes we are made to do other work as well."', and *ö:z-ler-i-niň* would be replaced with *biz-i* ('we' < 3PL-ACC) and *i:şle-d-il-ýä:n-dik-ler-i-ni* would be replaced with *i:şle-d-il-ýä:r* ('are made to work' < work-CAUS-PASS-PRS-3.PERS).

4.4.3 Adverbial clauses

In contast to complementation and relativization, adverbial clauses are in a sense 'less subordinate' in that they function more on the discourse level to provide textual cohesion in supplying information such as purpose, manner, or time. In Turkmen, adverbial clauses are mostly based on postpositional phrases and non-finite verb forms (converbs,

participles, and verbal nouns) and, like adverbs, they may be classified according to their semantic roles (e.g., time, location, manner, etc.). Unlike adverbs, however, adverbial clauses have a greater range of possible meaning (e.g., reason, concession, addition, etc.) because they may specify for information like participant and tense.

Temporal adverbial clauses situate an action relative to other actions. Past tense (i.e., postterminal) participial forms are involved in several of these constructions. For example, 'when' clauses are expressed with a postterminal participle and the locative case suffix *-An-dA* (C35, P21, S20, S21), while 'after' clauses involve a postterminal particle, optional ablative case suffix, and the postposition *soň* 'after' *-An*(*-dAn*) *soň* (S10). 'Before' clauses, on the other hand, may be expressed through a number of constructions, including negative postterminal converb suffix *-mAn* (*iý-mä:n git-di* 'before eating/without eating, he left' < eat-NEG.CVB go-PST.3SG); by the negative postterminal converb suffix with *-kA:* and a possessive suffix (*poçta: git-mä:n-kä:-m* 'before I go to the post office' < post.office.DAT go-NEG.CVB-while-1SG.POSS); or with the dative case and postposition *öň* 'before' (*toý-dan öň* 'before the party' < party-ABL before). Other such clauses may express abtemporality with the converb suffix *-AlI* (*sen gid-eli iç-im gys-dy* 'I've been bored since you left' < 2SG go-*AlI* insides-1SG.POSS press-PST.3SG), and simultaneity with the converb suffix *-kA:/mA:nkA:* (N19). Similarly, postpositions conveying simultaneity include *bilen* 'with' (*otag-a gir-meg-i bilen* '[3SG] entering the room' < room-DAT enter-INF-3.POSS) and *sa:ýin* 'as' (*maşyn-a mün-düg-i sa:ýin* 'as he got in the car' < car-DAT board-SBJR-3.POSS as). It

should also be noted that the postterminal converb suffix *-Ip* is rather versatile in covering many of these same temporal distinctions, though the precise meaning is resolved pragmatically. For example, *iç-ip garaş-dy-m* (drink-CVB wait-PST-1SG.POSS) may be interpretable as 'I drank then waited, 'Having drank, I waited', 'I waited while drinking'.

Adverbial clauses of location typically use relative clause structure. For example, in the sentence *Men dog-l-an ýer-im-de ýaşa-ýa:r-yn* 'I live where I was born' (< 1SG birth-PASS-PST.PRT place-1sg.poss-loc live-PRS-1SG.PERS), the location ('where I was born') is formed with a relative clause (lit. 'my birthed place').

Manner clauses involve a non-finite verb form followed by a postposition such as *ýa:ly, deý,* or *dek* 'like, as' (*bat-an gä:mi-ni taşl-a:n dek* 'like having abandoned a sunken ship' < sink-PST.PRT ship-ACC abandon-PST.PRT like).

Purpose clauses indicate motivation for an as yet unperformed action, and may be formed using an infinitive with the dative case suffix (N21), or an infinitive followed by postposition *üçi:n* 'for' (*ek-mek üçi:n* 'in order to plant' < plant-INF for). Reason clauses, on the other hand, specify a motivation for some action that has already been performed. One way to form such a clause is through the postposition *sebä:p-li* 'due to, because' (< reason-ASSO), which may appear after noun phrases (*Ukraina-da sowuk howa sebäp-li 18 adam öl-di* 'Because of the cold weather in Ukraine 18 people died' < U-LOC cold weather because-ASSO 18 man die-PST.3.POSS) or verbal nouns (*ö:z saglyk ýagdaý-y-nyň ýaramaz-la-ş-an-dyg-y sebäp-li* 'due to worsening health' < own health condition-3.POSS-GEN poor-VBLZ-

COOP-PST.PRT-SBJR-3.POSS reason-ASSO). A related form is *sebä:b-i* (< reason-3.poss), which may translate either as 'because' or 'the reason being', depending on syntax. For example, it is often found in writing as the grammatical subject (S19), where it specifies the reason for an aforementioned action (i.e., 'The reason for this is…'), in which case it is an independent clause. However, this form has extended in conversation to introduce a reason clause that is dependent on another clause (*git-me-di-m, sebäb-i ýat-yp ga:l-dy-m* 'I didn't go because I overslept' <go-NEG-PST-1.POSS reason-3.POSS lie-CVB remain-PST-1.POSS). Other postpositions related to reason clauses include *laýyklykda* and *görä:* 'in accordance with, according to' (N4, N8, N20).

Concessive clauses involve postpositions *garamazdan* 'despite, although' (N4), and *seredeniňde, gara:nyňda* 'compared to, considering', which may appear after verbal nouns with a dative case suffix (*Dürli ýurt-lar-dan 100-den gow-ra:k film-iň dalaş ed-ýä:n-dig-i-ne seredeniňde* 'considering that more than 100 films were submitted from various countries' < various country-PL-ABL 100-ABL great-CMPR film-GEN submission make-PRS.PRT-SBJR-3.POSS-DAT considering). The conditional suffix *-sA* conveys subtle shades of concession, including 'unless' clauses with the negative conditional *-mAsA* (S6), and 'whereas, even if, even though, yet' clauses with *bolsa-da* (N3, P20) or *-sA*-PERS.MARKER-*Am* (*saňa aýt-sa-m-am ynan-mar-syň-dyr* 'even if I told you, you still wouldn't believe me' < 2SG.DAT tell-COND-1SG.POSS-also believe-NEG.INDF.FUT-2SG.PERS-AFRM).

Closely related to concessive adverbials are substitutive ('instead, rather') and additive ('in addition to') constructions. Substitutive adverbial clauses are created with postposition *derek* (N18). Additives are formed through *bilen, başga*(*-da*) 'besides, in addition to' (N18).

5 Swadesh list

In this section is a 100-word Swadesh list organized semantically.

I	*men*	there	*aňry:k, aňry,*	many	*köp, birentek,*
you (SG)	*sen*		*aňyrda, ol/o*		*birgiden, ençeme,*
he	*ol*		*ta:ýda/ýerde*		*kä:n*
we	*biz*	who	*kim*	some	*birnä:çe, kä:te,*
you (PL)	*siz*	what	*nä:me*		*kemkäs, kä, käbir,*
they	*olar*	where	*nirede, nirä:*		*kä:biri,*
this	*bu:, şu:*	when	*haçan*		*ýekýa:rym,*
that	*bu:, şu:, ol, o, şol*	how	*nä:hili, nä:dip*		*ýektük*
here	*bä:rik, bä:ri,*	not	*dä:l*	few	*a:z, kemkä:s,*
	bu:/şu:	all	*ähli, büti:n, külli*		*kä:bir, kä:biri,*
	ta:ýda/ýerde				

	ýekýa:rym,	narrow	*dar*	forest	*jeňňel, tokaý*
	ýektük	thin	*inçe* (thing),	stick	*taýak, çöp*
other	*beýleki, başga,*		*ýuka* (cloth),	fruit	*miwe, iriýmiş*
	ö:zge, diger		*hor* (person)	seed	*tohum*
one	*bir*	woman	*aýal, zenan*	leaf	*taprak*
two	*iki*	man	*a:dam, erkek*	root	*kök*
three	*üç*	Man	*a:dam*	bark	*gabyk*
four	*dö:rt*	child	*çaga*	flower	*gül*
five	*bä:ş*	wife	*aýal*	grass	*o:t*
big	*uly*	husband	*a:dam*	rope	*yüp, tanap*
long	*uzak, uzyn* (tall)	mother	*ene, eje*	skin	*deri*
wide	*giň*	father	*ata, kaka*	meat	*et*
thick	*gür, ýygy*	animal	*haýwan, jandar*	blood	*gan*
	(dense), *ýogyn*	fish	*balyk*	bone	*süňk*
	(diameter),	bird	*guş*	fat	*ýag* (substance)
	galyň	dog	*it, güjük*	egg	*ýumurtga*
heavy	*agyr, saldamly*,	louse	*bit*	horn	*şah*
	agramly	snake	*ýylan*	tail	*guyruk*
small	*kiçi*	worm	*gurt, gurçuk*	feather	*ýaprak*
short	*gysga, kelte*	tree	*agaç*	hair	*saç*

head	*kelle, ser, baş*	knee	*dyz*	drink	*iç-*
ear	*gulak*	hand	*el*	eat	*iý-*
eye	*göz*	wing	*ganat*	bite	*dişle-*
nose	*burun*	belly	*garyn*	suck	*sor-*
mouth	*agyz*	guts	*iç*	spit	*tüýkür*
tooth	*diş*	neck	*boýun*	vomit	*gaýtar-, gus-*
tongue	*dil*	back	*arka*	blow	*öwüs-* (wind),
fingernail	*dyrnak*	breast	*göwüs, kükrek*		*üfle-* (breath)
foot	*aýak*	heart	*ýürek*	breathe	*dem al-*
leg	*aýak*	liver	*bagyr*	laugh	*gül-*

6. Texts

Below are four glossed and translated texts: a news article about child labor in Turkmenistan, a conversation between two friends, a poem about the life of man, and a story about a gazelle. Leipzig glossing rules are followed with numerous additions. A table of these abbreviations may be found in the front matter (p. xi).

6.1 News article (N)

The following article was written by Umyt Jumaýew and originally published May 10, 2012, on azathabar.com, a Turkmen-language news website produced by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

1 *Lebap-da okuw-çy-lar köp-çü-lik-leýin işle-d-il-ýä:r*

L-LOC school-ACT-PL many-EQA-NMLZ-ADLZ work-CAUS-PASS-PRS.3SG

'In Lebap students are being put to work en masse'

2 *Lebap welaýat-y-nyň etrap-lar-y-nyň, Türkmenabat şäher-i-niň*

L region-3.POSS-GEN country-PL-3.POSS-GEN T city-3.POSS-GEN

umu:my bilim ber-ýä:n orta mekdep-ler-i-niň

general education give-PRS.PRT middle school-PL-3.POSS-GEN

okuw-çy-lar-y köp-çü-lik-leýin işle-d-il-ýä:r.

school-ACT-PL-3.POSS many-EQA-NMLZ-ADLZ work-CAUS-PASS-PRS.3SG

'In the counties in the region of Lebap, students in Turkmenabat are being put to work en masse.'

3 *Şu: gün-ler çaga-lar-yň, esa:sa:n, mekdeb-e degişli meýdan-lar-da,*

this day-PL child-PL-GEN basically school-DAT concerning field-PL-LOC

seýrek bol-sa--da, mellek ýer-ler-i-nde—de

infrequent be-COND-FOC yard place-PL-3.POSS-LOC-still

işle-d-il-ýä:n-dik-ler-i-ni *gör-mek bol-ýa:r.*

work-CAUS-PASS-PRS.PRT-SBJR-PL-3.POSS-ACC see-INF be-PRS.3SG

'Nowadays, even though in general students are rarely in the fields, they may still be seen being put to work in yards.'

4 *Ýer-li* *syn-çy-lar-yň* *belle-mek-ler-i-ne* *görä:,*

place-ASSO observation-ACT-PL-GEN note-INF-PL-3.POSS-DAT according,

Türkmenista:n-da *çaga* *zä:hmet-i-niň* *gadagan-dyg-y-na*

T-LOC child labor-3.POSS-GEN forbidden-SBJR-3.POSS-DAT

gara-maz-dan, *çaga-lar-yň* *aç--aç-an* *dürli* *iş-ler-de*

look-NEG.INDF.FUT-ABL child-PL-GEN open.open-PST.PRT various work-PL-LOC

işle-d-il-meg-i-ne *kanun-y* *goraý-jy* *edara-lar* *tarap-y-ndan*

work-CAUS-PASS-INF-3.POSS-DAT law-ACC protect-ACT office-PL side-3.POSS-ABL

hi:ç hi:li *reaksiýa* *bil-dir-il-me-ýä:r.*

no kind reaction know-CAUS-PASS-NEG-PRS.3SG

'According to local observers, despite child labor being banned in Turkmenistan, no kind of response from law enforcement is given about children openly being made to do various types of work.'

5 *“Türkmenista:n-da a:dam-lar-y mugt zä:hmet-e çek-mek tejribe-si*

T-LOC man-PL-ACC free labor-DAT draw-INF experience-3.POSS

indi adaty ýagdaý-a öwr-ül-di.

so usual condition-DAT turn-PASS-PST.3SG

‘ “In Turkmenistan things have changed with people doing unpaid labor.’

6 *Muňa ýurd-uň ähli künjek-ler-i-nde göz*

this.DAT country-GEN entire corner-PL-3.POSS-LOC eye

ýet-ir-il-ip bol-ýa:r.

reach-PASS-CAUS-CVB be-PRS.3SG

‘In all corners of this whole country, it’s obvious.’

7 *Bu: ýagdaý çaga zä:hmet-i-ni ulan-mak ba:batda--da şeýle”*

this condition child labor-3.POSS-ACC use-INF that’s.why-FOC such

diý-ip, Galkynyş etrab-y-nyň mekdep-ler-i-niň bir-i-niň

say-CVB G county-GEN school-PL-3.POSS-GEN one-3.POSS-GEN

mugallym-y efir-de ad-y-nyň tut-ul-maz-lyk şerti

teacher-ACC broadcast-LOC name-3.POSS-GEN catch-PASS-INDF.FUT-NMLZ mode

bilen Azat-lyk Radio-sy-na aýt-dy.

with free-NMLZ radio-3.POSS-DAT tell-PST.3SG

‘And in this way child labor is being used,” said one of Galykynysh county’s teachers to Freedom Radio, under the condition that his name not be broadcast.’

8 *Onuň belle-meg-i-ne görä:, bu: ýagdaý, esa:sa:n-am,*

3SG.GEN note-INF-3.POSS-DAT according this condition basically-and

Türkmenista:n-yň öň-ki awtoritar prezident-i Saparmyrat

T-GEN previous-REL authoritarian president-3.POSS

Nyýazow-yň döwr-ü-nden miras ga:l-yp-dyr we şu

SN-GEN time-3.POSS-ABL legacy stay-PRSM.PAST.3SG and this

gün-ler hem dowam ed-ýä:r.

day-PL also duration do-PRS.3SG

‘According to his report, this circumstance has apparently persisted essentially as a legacy of Turkmenistan’s former authoritarian president Saparmurat Niyazov, and it continues today.’

9 *“Türkmenista:n-yň garaş-syz-lyg-y-nyň ilki-nji ýyl-lar-y-nda*

T-GEN wait-PRIV-NMLZ-3.POSS-GEN primary-ORD year-PL-3.POSS-LOC

gur-l-an hem--de şu: gün-ler gur-ul-ýa:n mekdep-ler-iň

build-PASS-PST.PRT also-FOC this day-PL build-PASS-PRS.PRT school-PL-GEN

ähli-si-nde sport meýdança-lar-y, bag ek-il-ýä:n meýdan-lar

entire-3.POSS-LOC sport ground -PL-3.POSS garden plant-PASS-PRS.PRT area-PL

ba:r.

exist

‘ “In all the schools that have been built since Turkmenistan’s first years of independence, and also in the newly built ones, there are grounds for sports and gardens for planting.’

10 *Mekdep okuw-çy-lar-y şol meýdan-lar-da işle-d-il-ýä:r.*

school school-ACT-PL-3.POSS that area-PL-LOC work-CAUS-PASS-PRS.3SG

‘In those areas school kids are made to work.’

11 *Ýö:ne klas otag-lar-y-nyň remont iş-ler-i-ne--de,*

but class room-PL-3.POSS-GEN repair work-PL-3.POSS-DAT-FOC

mekdeb-e degişli gurluşyk iş-ler-i-ne--de

school-DAT concerning construction work-PL-3.POSS-DAT-FOC

okuw-çy-lar-yň çek-il-ýä:n halat-lar-y ba:r” diý-ip, ol aýd-ýa:r.

school-ACT-PL-GEN draw-PASS-PRS.PRT time-PL-3.POSS exist say-CVB 3SG tell-PRS.3SG

‘But whether its in repairs or construction and remodeling of the school, students’ time is still being taken,” he says.’

12 *Türkmenista:n-yň ähli mekdep-ler-i-nde zä:hmetsapak-lar-y ba:r.*

T-GEN entire school-PL-3.POSS-LOC labor lesson-PL-3.POSS exist

'In all of Turkmenistan's schools there are classes for learning practical skills.'

13 *Ol zä:hmet sapak-lar-y-nda oglan-lar-a agaç*

3.SG labor lesson-PL-3.POSS-LOC boy-PL-DAT tree

ussa-çy-lyg-y, gyz-lar-a tikin tik-mek, nahar bişir-mek

craftsman-ACT-NMLZ-3.POSS girl-PL-DAT seam sew-INF food cook-INF

ýa:ly durmuş-da zerur bol-an el hünä:r-ler-i öwre-d-il-ýä:r.

like life-LOC vital be-PST.PRT hand trade-PL-3.POSS learn-CAUS-PASS-PRS.3SG

'In these classes, practical life skills are taught, such as carpentry for boys and needlework and cooking for girls.'

14 *Ýö:ne kä:bir mekdep okuw-çy-lar-y ö:z-ler-i-niň ol*

but some school school-ACTOR-PL-3.POSS self-PL-3.POSS-GEN those

sapak-lar-da başga iş-ler-de işle-d-il-ýä:n-dik-ler-i-ni

lesson-PL-LOC another work-PL-LOC work-CAUS-PASS-PRS.PRT-SBJR-PL-3.POSS-ACC

aýd-ýa:r-lar.

tell-PRS.3PL

'But some students say that in those classes they are made to do other work as well.'

15 *“Ýaky:n-da mekdeb-imiz-iň garawul-hana-sy-ny ýyk-yp,*

near-LOC school-1PL.POSS-GEN guard-PLACE.FOR-3.POSS-ACC demolish-CVB

ony başga ýer-den gur-du-lar.

3SG.ACC another place-ABL build-PST-3PL

‘ “Recently they razed our school’s guardhouse, and built another one elsewhere.’

16 *Yz-ly--yz-y-na gel-ýä:n iki zä:hmet sapag-y-nda şol*

back-ASSO-back-3.POSS-DAT come-PRS.PRT two labor lesson-3.POSS-LOC that

jaý-yň kerpiç-ler-i-ni daşa-dy-k.

building-GEN brick-PL-3.POSS-ACC transport-PST.3PL

‘Over two successive classes of labor we transported bricks for it.’

17 *Şeýdip, garawul-hana-nyň ähli kerpiç-ler-i-ni okuw-çy-lar*

thereby guard-PLACE.FOR-GEN entire brick-PL-3.POSS-ACC school-ACTOR-PL

el-ler-i bilen jaý-yň tä:ze gur-ul-jak ýer-i-ne

hand-PL-3.POSS with building-GEN new build-PASS-FUT.PRT place-3.POSS-DAT

daşa-dy-lar” di-ýip, Garaşsyzlyk etrab-y-nyň 1—nji orta

transport-PST-3PL say-CVB G county-3.POSS-GEN 1-ORD middle

mekdeb-i-niň 6--njy klas okuw-çy-sy Myrat gürrüň ber-ýä:r.

school-3.POSS.GEN 6-ORD class school-ACT-3.POSS M speech give-PRS.3SG

'And so, students brought by hand all of the bricks for the guardhouse to the site for the new building" said Myrat, a 6th grade student from Garashsyzlyk county's School #1.'

18 *1--nji orta mekdeb-i 2000--nji ýyl-da tamamla-n*

1-ORD middle school-3.POSS 2000-ORD year-LOC complete-PST.PRT

Garaşsyzlyk etrab-y-nyň ýaşa-ýjy-sy Serdar bol-sa ö:z

G county-3.POSS-GEN live-ACTOR-3.POSS S be-COND own

oka-n döwr-ü-nde hepdä:-niň bir gün-i

study-PST.PRT period-3.POSS-LOC week-GEN one day-3.POSS

tut-uş-lyg-y-na 6 sagat-dan yba:rat bol-an hünä:r

catch-COOP-NMLZ-3.POSS-DAT 6 hour-ABL comprised.of be-PST.PRT trade

öwren-iş sapag-y-nyň bol-an-dyg-y-ny, ol sapak-lar-da

train-NMLZ lesson-3.POSS-GEN be-PST.PRT-SBJR-3.POSS-ACC that lesson-PL-LOC

hünä:r öwren-meg-iň dereg-i-ne, dürli iş-ler-de

trade learn-INF-GEN instead-3.POSS.DAT various work-PL-LOC

işlä:-n-dig-i-ni, on-dan başga--da bedenterbiýe

work-PST.PRT-SBJR-3.POSS.ACC 3SG-ABL another-FOC physical.exercise

sapak-lar-y-nda--da mugallym-lar-yň öý-ler-i-niň

lesson-PL-3.POSS-LOC-FOC teacher-PL-GEN house-PL-3.POSS-GEN

iş-ler-i-ni *ed-en-dig-i-ni* *ýat-la-ýa:r .*

work-PL-3.POSS-ACC do-PST.PRT-SBJR-3.POSS-ACC memory-VBLZ-PRS.3SG

'Serdar, a resident of Garashsyzlyk who graduated from School #1 in 2000, recalls that when he was in school, this trade class was once a week for six hours, and that instead of learning a trade, they did various kinds of labor, and moreover, sometimes even instead of having gym class they would work on the teachers' homes.'

19 *"Men 4--nji klas-da-ka:-m 1—nji mekdeb-iň tä:ze*

1SG 4-ORD class-LOC-*kA:*.CVB -1SG.POSS 1-ORD school-GEN new

jaý-y-na *göç-dük* *we men* *tä:* *okuw-y*

building-3.POSS-DAT relocate-PST.3PL and 1SG until school-3.POSS

gutar-ýa:n-ça-m *tä:ze* *mekdeb-iň* *kem--kä:s-i-ni*

finish-PRS.PRT-until-1SG.POSS new school-GEN little.piece-3.POSS-ACC

bejer-dik, *bag-lar-y-ny* *ek-dik,* *ýer-ler-i-ni,*

repair-PST.1PL garden-PL-3.POSS-ACC plant-PST.3PL place-PL-3.POSS-ACC

tekizle-dik *garaz* *mekdeb-iň daş* *töwereg-i-ni*

smoothe-PST.3PL basically school-GEN outside surroundings-3.POSS-ACC

abatla-dyk" *diý-ip, Garaşsyzlyk* *etrab-y-ndan* *Serdar gürrüň ber-ýä:r*

repair-PST.3PL say.CVB G county-3.POSS-ABL S speech give-PRS.3SG

‘ “When I was in fourth grade, we relocated to School #1’s new building, and until I graduated, we would repair the new building little by little, plant the gardens and smooth the soil - we would basically maintain the school grounds,” said Serdar from Garashsyzlyk county.

20 *Serdar-yň aýt-mag-y-na görä:, şu: gün-ler ulan-ma:g-a*

S-GEN tell-INF-3.POSS-DAT according, this day-PL use-INF-DAT

ber-il-ýä:n mekdep-ler-iň ýagdaý-lar-y--da şeýle - tä:ze

give-PASS-PRS.PRT school-PL-GEN condition-PL-3.POSS-FOC such new

mekdep-ler-iň kem--kä:s-i-ni bejer-mek-de, daş

school-PL-GEN little.piece-3.POSS-ACC fix-INF-LOC outside

töwereg-i-ni abadanlaş-dyr-mak-da ýene

surroundings-3.POSS-ACC improve-CAUS-INF-LOC again

okuw-çy-lar ulan-yl-ýa:r.

school-ACT-PL use-PASS-PRS.3SG

‘And according to Serdar, the state of the schools currently being used is such that students are still used to repair and maintain the new schools and their surroundings.’

21 *Hepdä:-niň tutuş bir okuw gün-i hünä:r öwren-iş sapak-lar-y*

week-GEN wholly one school day-3.POSS trade train-NMLZ lesson-PL-3.POSS

indi gysgald-yl-yp, olar-yň iki sagad-a getir-il-en-dig-i-ne

next shorten-PASS-CVB 3PL-GEN 2 hour-DAT bring-PASS-PST.PRT-SBJR-3.POSS-DAT

gara-maz-dan, okuw-çy-lar esa:sy okuw-lar-y-ndan soň

look-NEG.INDF.FUT-ABL school-ACT-PL basic school-PL-3.POSS-ABL after

ýowar bahana-sy bilen ýene işle-mä:g-e

assistance reason-3.POSS with again work-INF-DAT

çagyr-yl-ýa:n-dyk-lar-y-ny, eger ýüz öwür-se-ler okuw

invite-PASS-PRS.PRT-SBJR-PL-3.POSS-ACC if face turn-COND-3.PL school

baha-lar-y-ny pesel-jek-dik-ler-i-ni aýd-yp,

worth-PL-3.POSS-ACC worsen-FUT.PRT-SBJR -PL-3.POSS-ACC tell-CVB

mugallym-lar-yň haýbat at-ýa:n-dyk-lar-y-ny aýd-ýa:r-lar.

teacher-PL-GEN threat toss-PRS.PRT-SBJR-PL-3.POSS-ACC tell-PRS.3PL

'Regardless of the fact that the lessons have been shortened to two hours weekly, after the school day, students may be summoned again under the pretense that they are volunteering, and if they refuse the invitation, the teachers threaten that their grades may be lowered.'

22 *Türkmenista:n BMG--niň çaga zä:hmet-i-ne garşy konwensiýa-sy-na*

T UN-GEN child labor-3.POSS-DAT against convention-3.POSS-DAT

gol goý-an yurt-lar-dan bi:ri-dir.

signature put-PST.PRT country-PL-ABL one-is.

'The country of Turkmenistan is a signatory on the United Nation's convention against the use of child labor.'

6.2 Conversation (C)

The following conversation occurred between two friends, a man and woman, both young adults. The transcription is given largely in accordance with Discourse Transcription (Du Bois et al. 1993), whereby each line represents a coherent intonational contour and ends with punctuation indicating the general prosodic shape of that contour ("." = falling/final intonation, "," = level/continuing intonation, "?" = rising/question intonation). In addition to these conventions are morphological glosses and free translations. Names have been changed to keep participants anonymous.

1	Myrat:	*Düýn,*	Yesterday,
2		*öý-e jaň et-d-im welin,*	I called home,
		home-DAT bell do-PST-1SG.POSS still	
3		*jigi-m al-dy.*	and my little brother picked up.
		little.brother-1SG.POSS take-PST-3SG.POSS	
4	Maral:	*Nä:me diý-ýä:r?*	What does he say?

		what say-PRS.3SG.PERS	
5	Myrat:	*Aý diý-ýä:r,*	Well he says,
		well say-PRS.3SG.PERS	
6		*oňu-rä:k-de bir,*	a little while ago this,
		before-CMPR-LOC one	
7		*bir gyz jaň et-d-i diý-ýä:r,*	this one girl called he says,
		one girl bell do-PST-3SG.POSS	
		say-PRS.3SG.PERS	
8		*saňa Roza jaň et-d-i diý-ýä:r,*	Roza called you he says,
		2SG.DAT R bell do-PST-3SG.POSS	
		say-PRS.3SG.PERS	
9	Maral:	*Hawa?*	Yeah?
10	Myrat:	*Ol diý-ýä:r,*	He says,
		3SG say-PRS.3SG.PERS	
11	Maral:	*Roza hawa.*	Roza yeah.
12	Myrat:	*men-em "Nä:dip bil-ýä:r-siň gyz?"*	And I'm like, "How do you know
		1SG-too how know-PRS-2SG.PERS girl	Roza?"
13		*ol-am,*	and he was like,
		3SG-too	
14		*"Aý jaň ed-ip 'Myrat ba:r-my?' so:r-ap*	"Oh she called and asked,

		diý-ýä:r,"	'Is Myrat there?'"
		oh bell do-CVB M exist-Q ask-CVB	
		say-PRS.3SG.PERS	
15	Maral:	*Aha.*	Yeah.
16	Myrat:	*hem diý-ýä:r,*	and he says,
		too say-PRS.3SG.PERS	
17		*"'Kim?' diý-ip so:ra-d-ym" diý-ýä:r,*	"'Who is this?' I asked" he says,
		who say-CVB ask-PST-1SG.POSS say-PRS.3SG	
18		*ol-am diý-ýä:r,*	and he goes,
		3SG-too say-PRS.3SG.PERS	
19		*"'Aý tana-mar-syň' diý-ipdir,'"*	"She's like 'Oh you wouldn't know
		oh know-NEG.INDF.FUT-2SG.PERS	me'
		say-PRSM.PST.3SG.PERS	
20		*ol-am,*	and he goes,
		3SG-too	
21		*"Roza sen-mi?" diý-ip so:ra-pdyr,*	"Roza is that you?" he asked,
		R 2SG-Q say-CVB ask-PRSM.PST.3SG.PERS	
22		*ol "Hawa" diý-ipdir.*	she said "yeah",
		3SG yes say-PRSM.PST.3SG.PERS	
23	Maral:	*Nä:dip-siň-eý?*	Really?

		how-2SG.PERS-*Aý*.MIRATIVE	
24		*Tana-ýa:r-my jigi-ň?*	Does he know her, your little
		know-PRS.3SG.PERS-Q little.brother-2SG.POSS	brother?
25	Myrat:	*Roza-ny-my?*	Does he know Roza?
		R-ACC-Q	
26	Maral:	*Hawa.*	Yeah.
27	Myrat:	*Baý tana-ýa:r-a:.*	Of course he knows her.
		INTJ know-PRS.3SG.PERS-EMPH	
28	Maral:	*Gowy bil-ýä:ndir,*	He must know her well,
		good know-PRSM.PRF.3SG.PERS	
29		*Waý hawa ol jora-m-am gör-es-im gel-ýä:r.*	Oh, I really miss her!
		oh yes that girl.friend-1SG.POSS-too	
		see-*Is*.NMLZ-1SG.POSS come-PRS.3SG.PERS	
30		*Düşn-ük-li.*	I see.
		understand-*Ik*.NMLZ-ASSO	
31		*Uh Serdar,*	And uh Serdar,
32		*jigi-ň-em,*	your little brother,
		little.brother-2SG.POSS-and	
33		*gaty ös-ün-dür-em,*	he must have really grown too,
		really grow-REFL-CAUS-and	

34		*öň*,	before,
35		*iň soň-ky sapar gör-en-im-de kiçi-di*.	last time I saw him he was little.
		most last-REL time see-PST.PRT-1SG.POSS-LOC	
		small-PST-3SG.POSS	
36		*Hawa*.	Yeah.
37	Myrat:	*Maňa*,	My mom told me,
		1SG.DAT	
38		*eje-m-em aýd-ýa:r*,	
		mom-1SG.POSS-and say-PRS-3SG.PERS	
39		*ol nesip*--	he's--
		3SG thankfully	
40		*u:h köp tüweleme-de gowy ös-di*.	really grown up well thank god.
		uh much thank.goodness-FOC good	
		grow-PST-3SG.POSS	
41	Maral:	*Bor-ýa:r-la*,	Well that's great.
		be-PRS.3SG-EMPH	
42		*öý-dä:ki-ler gowy bol-sa*.	that your family's doing well.
		home-AFIL-PL good be-COND-3SG.POSS	
43		*Eje-ň-de uh eje-ň ata-ň gowy dä:l-mi*?	And your uh your parents
		mother-2SG.POSS-FOC father-2SG.POSS	are good?

		good not-Q	
44	Myrat:	*Hawa hudaý-a şukur gowy*.	They're good thanks be to god.
		yes god-DAT thanks good	
45		*Sen-iň-ki-ler nä:dýä:* [<*nädip edýä:r*]?	And how are yours?
		2SG-2SG.POSS-REL-PL how.do	
46	Maral:	*Men-iň-ki-ler-em hudaý-a şukur*,	Mine are good too thanks be to god.
		1SG-1SG.POSS-REL-PL-and god-DAT thanks	
47		*Neme .. şu*,	Um .. this,
48		*uly iki-nji doglan-ym-yň*,	my second elder sibling,
		big 2-ORD sibling-1SG.POSS-GEN	
49		*oglan doglan-ym-yň*,	my elder brother,
		boy sibling-1SG.POSS-GEN	
50		*ogul-jyg-y ba:r-da:*,	had a baby boy you know,
		boy-DIM-3SG.POSS exist-EMPH	
51		*Noýabr-da dog-ul-dy*,	he was born in November,
		November-LOC birth-PASS-PST-3SG	
52		*on-dan soň*,	and so,
		2SG.ABL after	
53		*o:- ol dowur hem men entek bä:rde-d-im-de:*,	I was still here at that time,
		that that time and 1SG still	

here-PST-1SG.POSS-EMPH

54		*Amerika-da-d-ym*,	I was in America,
		A-LOC-PST-1SG.POSS	
55		*on-dan on-y kä:n gör-me-d-im welin*,	and so though I really
		3SG-ABL 3SG-ACC much	haven't seen him,
		see-NEG-PST-1SG.POSS though	
56	Myrat:	*Ha*:.	Yeah.
57	Maral:	*bir gör-es-im gel-ýä:r*.	I miss him.
		one see-*Is*.NMLZ-1SG.POSS	
		come-PRS-3SG.PERS	
58		*Surat-lar-y-ny gör-ýä:r-in welin*,	But I look at pictures,
		picture-PL-3SG.POSS-ACC see-PRS-1SG.PERS	
		but	
59		*gaty begen-ýä:r-in*,	and I get real happy,
		much be.happy-PRS-1SG.PERS	
60		*eje-m iber-d-i-de: surat-lar-y-ny*.	my mom sent them to
		mom-1SG.POSS send-PST-3SG.POSS-EMPH	me- the pictures.
		picture-PL-3SG.POSS-ACC	

6.3 Poem (P)

The following was transcribed from a recording of a man reciting the poem. It was recorded from an internet radio station called Goşgy we Hekaýat (‘Poetry and Stories’) at the website Turkmen Café, which broadcasts stories and poems as these. No attribution was given on this specific broadcast.

1	*A:dam-yň ömr-ü.*	The lifetime of man.
	man-GEN lifetime-3.POSS	
2	*On ýaş-yň-da owlak-syň sen,*	At the age of ten you are a baby goat,
	ten age-2SG.POSS-LOC kid-2SG.PERS 2SG	
3	*on bä:ş-iň-de tokly-syň.*	at fifteen and baby lamb.
	ten five-2SG.POSS-LOC lamb-2SG.PERS	
4	*Bök-mä:g-e-de hak-ly-syň sen,*	Prancing about is your right,
	jump-INF-DAT-FOC right-ASSO-2SG.PERS 2SG	
5	*ýat-ma:g-a-da hak-ly-syň.*	sleeping your entitlement.
	sleep-INF-DAT-FOC right-ASSO-2SG.PERS	
6	*Ýigrimi-de kürre-siň sen,*	At twenty you are a foal,
	twenty-LOC foal-2SG.PERS 2SG	
7	*ýigrimi bä:ş-de at-syň sen,*	at twenty five a horse,
	twenty five-LOC horse-2SG.PERS 2SG	

8	*otuz kyrk-da çyn bedew-siň,*	at thirty or forty a true steed,
	thirty forty-LOC true steed-2SG.PERS	
9	*elli-ň-de-de it-siň sen.*	and at fifty you are a dog.
	fifty-2SG.POSS-LOC-FOC dog-2SG.PERS 2SG	
10	*Hem-ä: hilegä:r-siň sen,*	You are both cunning,
	too-EMPH cunning-2SG.PERS 2SG	
11	*hem-em akyl-ly-syň sen,*	and wise.
	too-and brain-ASSO-2SG.PERS 2SG	
12	*Duşman üçi:n ýarak-syň,*	You are a sword against your enemies,
	enemy for sword-2SG.PERS	
13	*dost-a ýakymly-syň sen.*	to your friends you are precious.
	friend-DAT dear-2SG.PERS 2SG	
14	*Altmyş ýetmiş segsen togsan,*	Sixty seventy eighty ninety,
	sixty seventy eighty ninety	
15	*bu:-lar ö:z-üň-e bagly.*	these years depend on you.
	this-PL self-2SG.POSS-DAT dependent	
16	*Gaplaň-am bol-up bil-er-siň,*	You may be a tiger,
	tiger-too be-CVB know-INDF.FUT-2SG.PERS	
17	*arslan-am bol-up bil-er-siň,*	you may be a lion,
	lion-too be-CVB know-INDF.FUT-2SG.PERS	

18 *möjeg-em bol-up bil-er-siň,* you may be a wolf,

wolf-too be-CVB know-INDF.FUT-2SG.PERS

19 *şagal-am bol-up bil-er-siň,* you may be a jackal,

coyote-too be-CVB know-INDF.FUT-2SG.PERS

20 *bol-sa-ň-da a:dam ogl-y.* yet you are still a man.

be-COND-2SG.POSS-FOC man son-3.POSS

21 *Ýüz-e ýet-en-iň-de weli,* Though when you have reached 100,

hundred-DAT reach-PST.PRT-2SG.POSS-LOC still

22 *bol-saň üt-ül-en towuk* you may be a plucked chicken.

be-2SG.PERS pluck-PASS-PST.PRT chicken

23 *Keteg-iň iç-e:m sowuk,* Inside the coop it is cold,

chicken.coop-GEN inside-too cold

24 *keteg-iň daş-a:m sowuk,* and outside the coop it is cold.

chicken.coop-GEN outside-too cold,

25 *Emma: ö:z-üň a:dam bol-sa-ň,* But if you yourself are a man,

but self-2SG.POSS man be-COND.2SG.POSS

26 *ýo:k-dur ullakan howp.* there is surely no danger.

not.exist-AFRM great danger

27 *Il-iň gün-üň dost ýary-ň ,* Your people and days are your close friends

people-2SG.POSS day-2SG.POSS friend near-2SG.POSS

28 *sen-i hor-la-maz garaz,* In short, you won't be starved,

2SG-ACC skinny-VBLZ-3SG.NEG.INDF.FUT in.short

29 *üt-ül-en towuk diý-ip,* they will not harass you,

pluck-PASS-PST.PRT chicken say-CVB

30 *azar-am ber-ip dur-maz,* calling you a plucked chicken,

bother-too give-CVB stand-3SG.NEG.INDF.FUT

31 *gaty git-se diý-ýä:r-ler,* the worst they can say,

hard go-COND.3SG say-PRS-3PL.PERS

32 *"Ganat-syz garry horaz".* is "Old featherless rooster".

wing-PRIV old rooster

6.4 Literary story (S)

The story below was originally published online at tmolympiad.org by a user named "yhlas", who credits the writing to Ejegyz Çaryýewa, who indicates that the reader may have read the story before.

1	*Göni*	*gel-en*	*keýig-iň*	*iki*	*göz-ü-nden*	*başga*	*aýby*	
	direct	come-PST.PRT	gazelle-GEN	two	eye-3.POSS-ABL	another	shame	
	ýo:k							

not.exist

'From the eyes of the gazelle who came directly there is no more shame.'

2 *Göçme many-sy-nda köplenç a:dam-lar ara-sy-nda-ky*

figurative meaning-3.POSS-LOC often man-PL interval-3.POSS-LOC-REL

gatna-ş-yk-lar ba:batda ulan-yl-ýa:n bu: aýt-gy-nyň

attend-RECP-*Ik*.NMLZ-PL about use-PASS-PRS.PRT this tell-*Gy*.NMLZ-GEN

asyl-ky many-sy ba:rada aw-çy Akmä:mmet aga

original-REL meaning-3.POSS about hunt-ACT A elder.brother

şeýle gürrüň ber-er-d-i:

so speech give-INDF.FUT-PST-3SG.POSS

'People often speak figuratively about the relationships among people, and the hunter Akmammet would tell it in its original meaning like so:'

3 *Kä: ýyl-yň gyş-y gaty agyr gel-ýä:r.*

some year-GEN winter-3.POSS very heavy come-PRS.3SG

'Some years' winters are really strong.'

4 *Dünýä:-ni gar bas-yp, er-ä:r ýer-de er-ä:no:k.*

world-ACC snow press-CVB melt-INDF.FUT.PRT place-LOC melt-NEG.3SG

‘The snow covers the earth, and doesn’t melt where it should.’

5 *Şeýle doň-ak-lyk uzag-a çek-se, keýik galla-lar-y*

like.so freeze-*Ak*.NMLZ-NMLZ long-DAT draw-COND.3 gazelle grain-PL-3.POSS

gaç-yb-at-alga edin-en çagat-lyg-y-nyň

escape-CVB-throw-place.for-DAT acquire-PST.PRT *çagat*-NMLZ-3.POSS-GEN

(*çagat diý-ip, giňiş oýtak-da tümmek-tümmek bol-up ýat-an*

çagat say-CVB spacious hollow-LOC mound-mound be-CVB lay-PST.PRT

çöp-lük ýer-e aýd-yl-ýa:r) *ot-u-ny-çóp-ü-ni iý-ip*

stick-NMLZ place-DAT tell-PASS-PRS-3SG grass-3.POSS-ACC-stick-3.POSS-ACC eat-CVB

gutar-ýa:r-lar, çygyr-y-ny çykar-ýa:r-lar.

finish-PRS-3PL range-ACC remove-PRS-3PL

‘If cold days continue that way, having found refuge and finished eating the *çagat* feed, the gazelles would leave their home territory (by *çagat*, we mean the spacious hollowed-out place where sticks are placed in piles).’

6 *Howa birneme gow-ş-ap, gar-lar erä:-p, meýdan-da:ky*

weather a.little good-RECP-CVB, snow-PL melt-CVB, terrain-AFIL

ot—çöp-üň üst-i ýuka-l-ma-sa, keýik-ler örä:n agyr

grass-stick-GEN top-3.POSS thin-PASS-NEG-COND.3SG gazelle-PL very heavy

ýagdaý-a *düş-ýä:r.*

condition-DAT descend-PRS.3

'Unless the weather improves, the snow melts, and the layer on top of the grass thins out, the gazelles will fall on hard times.'

7 *Dünýä:-si-niň* *düzüw* *wagt-y* *a:dam* *gör-se* *gaç-ýa:ndyr*

world-3.POSS-GEN properly time-3.POSS man see-COND.3SG flee-PRSM.IMP

weli, *ýaň-ky* *ýa:ly* *ýagdaý-da* *janawer-ler* *a:dam-dan* *dä:l-de*

though near-REL like state-LOC animal-PL man-ABL not-FOC

göz-le-ýä:r-ler.

eye-VBLZ-PRS-3PL

'Though in normal situations they usually avoid people if they see them, in times like these, besides humans there are none that they seek.'

8 *A:dam-lar-yň* *goýn-a* *ber-ýä:n* *ot-u-ndan* *hantama* *bol-up,*

man-PL-GEN sheep-DAT give-PRS.PRT grass-3.POSS-ABL expectation be-CVB

guýy-nyň *baş-y-nda,* *süri-niň* *töwereg-i-nde,* *ot*

well-GEN head-3.POSS-LOC herd-GEN environs-3.POSS-LOC grass

daşa-l-ýa:n *ýol-lar-da.* *düzüm--düzüm* *bol-ş-up*

transport-PASS-PRS.PRT road-PL-LOC line-line be-COOP-CVB

dur-andyr-lar

stand-PRSM.PERF-3PL

'In expectation of getting the grass that people feed their sheep, they would stand around together near the well, around the sheep herd, and on the streets where the grass is transported.'

9 *Ö:z-ler-em şeýle bir gözgyn-y bol-ýa:r-lar.*

self-PL-too such one pitiful-3.POSS be-PRS-3PL

'And they are so very pitiful.'

10 *Uzak--uzak ýol-lar-y sök-üp, çöl-üň jümmüş-i-nden*

long-long road-PL-3.POSS rend-CVB desert-GEN depth-3.POSS-ABL

gar-ly—buz-ly ýer-ler-den bat-yp—çom-up gel-en-soň

snow-ASSO-frost-ASSO place-PL-ABL sink-CVB-get.stuck-CVB come-PST.PRT-after

aýak-lar-y dagam ham-y sypr-yl-yp, gyzyl-injik

leg-PL-3.POSS disintegrating animal.skin-3.POSS peel-PASS-CVB red-shin

bol-up dur-andyr.

be-CVB stand-PRSM.PERF.3

'Winding over the long roads, after clawing their way out from the snowy and icy depths of the desert, they stand like flamingos, their legs falling apart and skin peeling

off.'

11 *At-ma:g-a—tut-ma:g-a dagy döz-er ýa:ly dä:l-dir.*

shoot-INF-DAT-capture-INF-DAT else withstand-INDF.FUT like not-AFRM

'There are none that would shoot and capture them.'

12 *Tuta-ýaň-da--da, on-dan agz-yň tagam tap-jak güman-y*

capture-PRS.2SG-LOC-FOC 3SG-ABL mouth-2.POSS taste find-FUT.PRT power

ýo:k, gaty hor, çala jany bol-ýa:r.

not.exist very skinny hardly alive be-PRS.3

'Even if you catch them caught, they won't taste good, being very slim and barely alive.'

13 *Şeýdip, eňki ag-an janawer-ler gaç-yr-an—ga:l-dyr-an*

and.so force-REL spill-PST.PRT animal-PL release-PST.PRT-remain-CAUS-PST.PRT

ot—çöp-üň-i iý-jek bol-up, aýag-yň-a çola-ş-yp

grass-stick-2SG.POSS-ACC eat-FUT.PRT be-CVB leg-2SG.POSS-DAT wrap-COOP-CVB

ýö:r-e:ndir-ler.

walk-PRSM.PERF-3PL

'So, the poor exhausted things in trying to eat the last remainders of grass and branches would entangle themselves about your legs.'

14 *Dogry ýüz-üň-e sered-ip dur-andyr-lar.*

right face-2SG.POSS-DAT look-CVB stand-PRSM.PERF-3PL

'They would look straight at your face.'

15 *Beýle ýagdaý-da a:dam oňa deg-me-ýä:r.*

such condition-LOC man 3SG.DAT touch-NEG-PRS.3

'In such a state, people do not even touch them.'

16 *Ana, şol-am Türkmen dil-i-ndä:ki «Dogry gel-en*

there that-also T language-3.POSS-AFIL straight come-PST.PRT

keýig-iň iki göz-ü-nden başga aýby ýo:k»

gazelle-GEN 2 eye-3.POSS-ABL another shame not.exist

diý-il-ýä:n-i bol-ýa:r.

say-PASS-PRS.PRT-3.POSS be-PRS.3

*'*And there it is, the saying told in Turkmen, "The deer that came right up had no shame in its eyes." '

17 *Bir gezek çöl-de aw ed-ip ýö:r-dü-m weli, bir keýik*

one time desert-LOC hunt do-CVB walk-PST-1SG though one gazelle

kelle-si-ni *aşak* *sal-yp,* *ujal-a* *gir-ip* *git-di--de,*

head-3.POSS-ACC below place-CVB *ujal*-DAT enter-CVB go-CVB-FOC

soň-am *bär-si-ne* *bak-yp,* *dogry* *ýüz-üm-e*

after-and here-3.POSS-DAT look-CVB straight face-1SG.POSS-DAT

seret-di--de *dur-uber-di* (*ýüz-ugra* *aýt-sa-k,* *sä:hra*

look-PST.3SG-FOC stand-TRANSFORM-PST.3 generally.speaking say-COND-1PL world

ýer-de *edil* *ýap* *ýa:ly* *uzal-yp* *gid-ýä:n* *oý*

place-LOC certain small.stream like lengthen-CVB go-PRS.PRT valley

ýer-ler *bol-ýa:r,* *ana,* *şoňa* *«ujal»* *diý-ýä:r-ler*).

place-PL be-PRS.3 there that.DAT *ujal* say-PRS-3PL

'Once when I was hunting in the desert, a deer put his head down, suddenly moved into an *ujal*, and then it looked towards me, and it just kept staring straight at my face (generally speaking, there are certain places in the world where small streams lengthen and proceed through valleys, and that's what is meant by *ujal*)'

18 *Şeýle* *ýagdaý-da* *aw-çy* *oňa* *deg-me-ýä:r.*

such situation-LOC hunt-ACT 3SG.DAT touch-NEG-PRS.3

'In situations as these, hunters will not touch them.'

19 *Sebä:bi* *ol* *janawer* *ö:z* *ykbal-y-ny* *sen-iň*

because that animal self destiny-3.POSS-ACC 2SG-GEN

ynsab-yñ-a *goý-ýa:r...*

conscience-2SG.POSS-DAT put-PRS.3

'Because the poor thing put its own fate in your conscience.'

20 *Çöl* *haýwan-y* *bol-sun,* *dag* *ýyrtyjy-sy* *bol-sun,*

desert animal-3.POSS be-OPTA mountain predator-3.POSS be-OPTA

gyssag-a *düş-en-de* *ynsan-yň* *belent* *hä:siýet-i--ne,*

urgency-DAT fall-PST.PRT-LOC human-GEN splendid nature-3.POSS-DAT

ynsap-ly *kalby-na,* *dözüm-siz* *ýüreg-i-ne* *bil*

conscience-ASSO spirit-DAT endurance-PRIV heart-3.POSS-DAT middle

bagla-ýa:r...

join-PRS.3

'Be it a desert creature or mountain predator, in an emergency, it can rely on man's splendid nature, conscientious spirit, and long-suffering heart.'

21 *Şeýle* *bol-an-da* *aw-uň* *yşgyn-a* *düş-üp,* *kelle-si*

so be-PST.PRT-LOC hunt-GEN rhubarb-DAT descend-CVB head-3.POSS

göç-en *aw-ç-am* *kürtdür-ip* *dur-ýa:r--da:,*

migrate-PST.PRT hunt-ACT-too suddenly.stop-CVB stand-PRS.3-EMPH

akl-y-na *aýlan-ýa:r...*

mind-3.POSS-DAT spin-PRS.3

'In such an event, having feverishly pursued the hunt, the hunter who has lost his mind just suddenly stops, the thought swirling about his head.

22 *Göni* *göz-ü-ne* *sered-ip* *dur-an* *haýwan-y*

straight eye-3.POSS-DAT look-CVB stand-PST.PRT animal-ACC

öl-dür-mä:g-e *ynsaby* *çat-ano:k.*

die-CAUS-INF-DAT conscience-3.POSS connect-NEG.PRS.PERF.3

'He doesn't have the heart to shoot the deer that is looking right in his face.'

23 *A:dam-lar* *ara-sy-nda--da,* *bir* *a:dam* *ed-en* *iş-i-niň*

man-PL interval-3.POSS-LOC-FOC one man do-PST.PRT work-3.POSS-GEN

telek-dig-i-ni *boýun* *al-yp,* *dogry* *ötünç* *so:ra-sa*

erroneous-SBJR-3.POSS-ACC neck take-CVB true forgiveness ask-COND.3

ýa--da *«Ö:z-üň* *nä:me* *et-se-ň* *ed-ä:ý,* *şu:* *şeýle*

or self-GEN what do-COND-2SG.POSS do-*A:ý*.IMP this such

bol-dy» *diý-se,* *mert* *Türkmen* *on-uň* *gün-ä:-si-ni*

be-PST.3 say-COND.3 brave T 3SG-GEN sin-3.POSS-ACC

geç-ýä:ndir.

pass-PRSM.IMPF.3

'But among men, even if one confesses to having committed such an act, and he truly seeks forgiveness or says, "Do whatever you may, but this is what happened," intrepid Turkmens should forgive his sins.'

24	*Şeýle*	*ýagdaý-da*	*«Göni*	*gel-en*	*keýig-iň*	*iki*	*göz-ü-nden*
	such	case-LOC	straight	come-PST.PRT	gazelle-GEN	2	eye-3.POSS-ABL
	başga	*aýby*	*ýo:k»*	*diý-en*	*pähime*	*eýer-ýä:r-ler.*	
	another	shame	not.exist	say-PST.PRT	wisdom	follow-PRS-3PL	

'In such cases this wisdom is followed: In the eyes of the gazelle who came right up, there is no shame.'

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